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THE SUBANUNS OF SINDANGAN BAY

BY

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PART I

THE SUBANUNS OF SINDANGAN BAY

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PREFACE

The materials for The Subanuns of Sindangan Bay were gathered for the most part during about eleven weeks in the region about the bay, in which five were passed in the months of March and April in 1905, and six in April, May, and June of 1906. The first visit was made in the course of a rapid survey of the Subanun field with a view to selecting some one region for the subject of a monograph. After visiting other districts, I selected the Sindangan Bay region and returned there to pursue my investigations, but found that in the meantime a virulent epidemic of smallpox had broken out. This epidemic, owing to quarantine regulations enforced by the Subanuns themselves, and to a widespread desertion of the settlements, made the moment inopportune for ethnographic work. The attempt was renewed the next year, but it was found that the disease, which according to the natives had in the course of the past year killed a quarter of the inhabitants of several *rancherías* along the coast, was still rife, and that all travel inland was still interdicted. Under the circumstances the best that could be done was to spend a month and a half at one or two *rancherías* at or near the mouth of Sindangan River, where the smallpox had already passed. Even here, conditions were adverse in that the people, worn down physically and discouraged, had not yet returned to a normal degree of activity. Owing to these circumstances the following report is not as full as it was intended to be. No one knows better than the writer how far it is from exhausting the subject.

In view, however, of the great lack of information regarding the pagan peoples of Mindanao, it seems best to publish it as it stands, as part of a volume to be devoted to those peoples, and with the hope of adding to the information contained in it at some future time.

While for the sake of greater clearness and certainty the paper treats mainly of a restricted and definite region, namely, that around Sindangan Bay, the writer is led to believe by his observations in other portions of the Subanun habitat that in spite of innumerable small variations in details, the general picture will be found correct for the Subanun culture area in general. Everywhere one finds the same fundamental religious ideas, interpreted by male or female shamans; the same scattering of population and loose system of social control,

which have always made the Subanun an easy victim of his better organized neighbors; and the same primitive agriculture, consisting in making clearings in the forest, preparing them without the aid of the plow, and deserting them after harvesting a crop or two. Such relatively compact Subanun villages as there are owe their existence to outside pressure from the Government, and, more especially, to that from foreign missionaries.

For the sake of the convenience of the reader, I have gathered together in the first chapter of the report such scattered historical notices of the Subanuns as I have been able to find, whether they referred particularly to the people living around Sindangan Bay or not; a few tales have also been given from various parts of the Subanun country, with an indication of the exact locality where each was heard; finally, brief word-lists from Nueva Reus and from Dumankilas Bay are appended. Such words as are common to these lists and that from the Sindangan River show the degree of variation that exists in Subanun speech in the different regions. Subanuns from the various districts which they inhabit have some difficulty in understanding each other, but the differences are not sufficiently important to constitute different dialects. At the same time, Subanun speech differs sufficiently from that of neighboring peoples to give it the status of a separate idiom.

A few observations made outside of the Sindangan Bay region are included in this report, but in such cases the localities are specifically mentioned.

In conclusion, the writer desires to express his thanks to Fathers José España and Antonio Obach for assistance in securing information regarding the existence of old Subanun burial caves near Dapitan, and to General Leonard Wood—whose administration of the Moro Province began for the Subanuns an era of justice—for facilities of transportation.

MANILA, *December, 1908.*

CHAPTER I

HABITAT AND HISTORY

NAME

The name Subanun means river-dweller, from the word *suba,* river, common to several Philippine dialects, including Sulu and Bisaya. "Nun" or "non" is an adjective postfix indicating origin or habitation. Thus we have *bukidnon,* from *bukid,* hill or mountain, hill-dweller; Dapita*nun,* native of Dapitan, etc. This term was applied to the tribe because its members are met with in going up the rivers from the coast, in distinction to the Moros and Christians of Zamboanga Peninsula, who are coast-dwellers. Probably the term was first applied to the Subanuns by Christians and Moros, but it is now well known to the tribe, and used by it. It is not, however, the only term applied by these people to themselves. A Subanun, when questioned as to who he is, will often answer, *tau bukid* or *tau buid,* "hill-man."

HABITAT

The home of the Subanuns is the Zamboanga or Sibugai Peninsula, which extends westward like a long, misshapen finger from the main body of the Island of Mindanao and at Point Kipit crooks sharply southward, pointing at Basilan and furnishing the northern terminus to the natural route between Borneo, together with the Malayan world beyond it, and the Philippines, over the closely strung islands of the Sulu Archipelago. In this home, the Subanuns have long been cut off from intercourse with the other pagans of the island. Iligan Bay, narrowing into a wedge under the name of Pangil Bay, thrusts deeply into the land from the north, and Ilanun Bay curves deeply into it from the south, so that the width of the peninsula narrows at one point to about 20 kilometers. At this place General Weyler completed in 1890 a *trocha* or line of fortified posts from north to south, to prevent the westward raids of the Lake or Ilanun Moros. This *trocha* marks the eastern boundary of the Subanun country. Beyond it, the powerful Lake Moros form an insurmountable barrier between the Subanun and other pagan populations of the island.

There can be little doubt but that before the arrival of the Mohammedans and Spaniards the Subanuns held the entire country west of the line indicated above, sharing it only with the Negritos, who as far as

known have now disappeared from the whole region.[1] However, at the present time the Subanuns have been crowded out of a considerable portion of their inheritance, and the displacement of Subanun culture has been even greater than that of the Subanuns themselves, through the conversion of many Subanuns to Christianity and Mohammedanism, a change which carries with it adoption of Christian-Filipino and Mohammedan-Malayan customs, and final absorption into the body of the "Filipino" or "Moro" population.

Missionary enterprise has been an important factor in the situation in this quarter. At the present time, there are villages of Subanun "new Christians" along nearly all the northern and northeastern fringe of the Subanun population. It is true that many of these villages of converts, formed by the missionaries, have disintegrated owing to the change of sovereignty and policy in the Philippines caused by the Spanish-American war, but some have survived these changes and bid fair to represent permanent losses of territory on the part of the Subanun culture area.

Subanun culture has also lost ground to Filipino in the southwest. About 25,000 Christians live in Zamboanga and its *barrios*. These have not yet encroached as much on Subanun territory as the Filipinos of the northeast. Still, Filipino settlements are found at Nueva Reus and after a considerable interval at Port Santa María, on the west coast, and as far as Buluan on the east. It is true that the Filipino settlements on the east coast of the peninsula are not important north of Kuruan.

Thus the Christian invasion advances both from the northeast and the southwest. A population of some 70,000 Christian Filipinos adjoins the Subanuns in the former direction, from Dapitan to Misamis. This population is expanding not only by natural increase, but also by the gradual immigration of settlers from the comparatively densely peopled Bisaya Islands to the north. The southern outpost on the west coast of the invasion from the northeast is a small village with a chapel, very near the mouth of the Sindangan River, on the bay of the same name.

Zamboanga also has been a base of missionary effort. "New Christian" Subanun villages, however, hardly exist in this region. Nueva Reus, the principal "new Christian" settlement in this part of the peninsula, has practically reverted to paganism as far as its Subanun inhabitants are concerned.

As the Christian Filipinos hem in the Subanuns from the sea on the north, northeast, and southwest, so a line of Mohammedan villages

[1] "There are in this island [Mindanao] black negroes, who recognize the authority of no one, like those of the Island of Negros and the Aetas of the mountainous regions of Manila. They live more like brutes than men, doing harm to as many as they can. They have no town, nor, in a land of so much inclemency of the weather, do they have any other shelter than trees. On Panguil Bay, they are seen every day, and in the pueblo of Layauan [now Oroquieta] when I was on a visit, many of them appeared before me." Combés, Historia de Mindanao y Joló.

borders the sea on practically all the south coast of the Subanun country and part of the west. The Mohammedans in the peninsula number approximately only about 25,000, but as they are confined to the coast and live for the most part in small villages, their settlements form a line of great length. On the west coast Mohammedan settlements are numerous and important as far as Kipit. North of Kipit they are rare and of very small size, never exceeding three or four houses. The town of Zamboanga itself at the time of the last census had a Moro population of about 700, and Mohammedan settlements stretch east from there along practically the whole southern border of the Subanun country. This population, while in frequent contact with the Subanuns, lives in settlements of its own. It is settled on small islands and at the mouths of the rivers, within sound of the waves, while the Subanuns may be found farther up along the same streams.

The Mohammedan element is not homogeneous. From Zamboanga to Buluan it is chiefly Samal; beyond Buluan the Magindanau group, or its branch, the Ilanuns, are prominent. Along the south coast also are many settlements of Kalibugans, who, moreover, probably form the largest element in the Mohammedan population on the west coast from Zamboanga to Kipit.

The name Kalibugan deserves a word of explanation. It is built up from the root *li-bug,* which in Bisaya means "to be of mixed blood," and is applied to the offspring of persons of different race or of unequal social status, as of slave and free. The term is also applied to animals. The word *kalibugan* is used, for instance, in speaking of the offspring of a wild cock and a domestic fowl, or that of a domestic pig by a wild one. In Panay I have heard it applied to people of mixed Malayan and Negrito blood. In the Zamboanga Peninsula it is the name universally given to people of mixed Subanun and Moro blood.

As a matter of fact, many of the people included under this name are of pure Subanun blood. Personal observation of many of them has convinced me that in most of them the Subanun strain is much stronger than the Samal, the Ilanun, or the Magindanau. Indeed the majority of Kalibugan settlements are of Subanun speech, though close intercourse with Moro groups has led to the adoption of some foreign words; the economic life is Subanun, the Kalibugan making a living by agriculture of the *kaingin* or forest-clearing type. Many Kalibugans, in fact, are merely Subanuns converted to Mohammedanism, and mark the line of contact of Subanun culture with Islam just as the "new Christians" mark that with Christianity. Kalibugan settlements are started usually by the marriage of some Samal, Ilanun, or Magindanau fisherman or trader with one or more Subanun girls. This necessitates conversion on their part and the family—or families, if there are several Moros—serve as the nucleus of a Mohammedan community. Moham-

medanism presents itself to the Subanuns with the prestige of a superior civilization, and first the relatives of the Subanun wives of Moros and then other neighboring Subanuns are apt to be attracted to the Mohammedan religion and culture. For a long time the customs and beliefs of such a community are mixed—the writer has seen pagan religious ceremonies performed in Kalibugan villages—but the drift is constantly toward complete assimilation by the "Moro" culture. In the Kalibugan settlements of to-day we see going on before our eyes the process which constituted the various Moro tribes of Mindanao. An account of the origin and growth of the Kalibugan villages of the peninsula might correctly be entitled "How a Moro tribe is made."

From the foregoing paragraphs it appears that the only part of the peninsula where the Subanun country is not fringed on the coast with Christian or Mohammedan settlements is the region on the west coast between Kipit and the Sindangan River. A walk of an hour or two from the beach along this strip of coast will often lead to Subanun houses. Along the southern coast, also, owing to the sparseness of the Moro population and its confinement to tide water, Subanun houses can in many places be found near the coast. The Kalibugan settlements, which as a rule follow the Subanun mode of making clearings in the forest, are often set a little back from the sea, but the tendency is for the Kalibugans to settle nearer the shore than the unconverted natives, as their conversion to Mohammedanism set them at liberty to trade by sea and freed them from the necessity of paying tribute to the Moro rulers; there was thus removed a fruitful cause of abuses, which long tended to make the pagan shun the sea, for by the sea came the collectors of tribute.

Even with so much of the best part of the peninsula occupied by Mohammedans and Christians, there is land enough for the Subanuns, and to spare. In fact, a considerable part of the country is uninhabited. Diseases, such as cholera and smallpox—the infection most dreaded by the Subanuns—and centuries of slave-raiding by Moros, among whom the Samal pirates attacked the Subanuns by sea and the Lake Moros—Ilanuns—by land, have so ravaged the people that the pagan Subanuns to-day probably do not number over 30,000. I was informed by Subanun chiefs on Sindangan Bay that a good day's march into the interior in that region would lead to the end of the Subanun settlements, and by the deputy governor of Zamboanga District at Tukuran that the upper valleys of the Lintokud and Mipangi Rivers were unoccupied. A large portion of the more rugged and broken parts of the country is also devoid of inhabitants, so that the Subanun settlements are only scattered sparsely over parts of the peninsula, and in other regions form a mere fringe of population, within the Christian and Mohammedan fringe where those elements exist, and nearly on the coast in others.

The peninsula is hilly or mountainous throughout. A chain of mountains forming its backbone runs its whole length, the crest running approximately along its middle. However, none of the peaks of this central range reaches any great height, the altitude rarely exceeding 1,200 meters, and in the last 60 kilometers of the peninsula the hills at no place rise as high as this figure. In that portion of Sibugai Peninsula lying north of a line drawn between the heads of Iligan and Sindangan Bays, which itself forms a shoulder or a secondary peninsula projecting from the main one, a spur of the central range expanding into a complex of mountains culminates in Mount Malindang, which reaches a height of over 2,200 meters. Small strips of level ground here and there exist in the peninsula, as at Zamboanga, where the land is occupied by a Christian population, but as a rule the ground is hilly almost or quite to the water's edge. It is probable that the entire peninsula is rising and that there has not been time for the formation of a coastal plain by material washed down from the mountains. The writer has seen coral rocks 25 meters up the sides of the hills at a point on the west coast about 60 kilometers north of Zamboanga.

A depression which exists at the head of the small peninsula which ends in Punta Flechas runs from Dumankilas to Ilanun Bay, and another furnishes an easy crossing from Sirawai on the western coast to Buluan on the southern. In general, however, passage from the northern and western to the southern and eastern coast, and from the shores of one bay overland to those of another is barred by hills and mountains, and the Subanuns of one section have little or no communication with those of another.

Speaking generally, the whole of the peninsula is forested. There are, however, many considerable patches of land in *kogon* grass. The formation of these open areas is due partly to forest fires and partly to the making of *kaingin*[2] for cultivation where the grass obtained the upper hand over the stumps and saplings left and prevented the usual return to forest when the clearings were abandoned by their cultivators. These open patches are especially prevalent on both sides of the last 50 kilometers of the peninsula.

The rainfall of the Subanun country is moderate in comparison with that of some other parts of the Archipelago. According to the Philippine Weather Bureau, it averages 102.6 to 153.8 centimeters a year in the southern 90 kilometers of the Sibugai or Zamboanga Peninsula, and from 107.7 to 205.2 centimeters in the remainder. Droughts occur from time to time, especially in the southern part of the region.

There are no large rivers in the peninsula, but many small streams flow down its slopes into the seas on the north, south, and east. Many

[2] A name for the clearings in the forest made by the less civilized Filipinos. The stumps of the trees are left standing and the clearing itself abandoned after it has been cultivated for one or two seasons.

of these, especially in the eastern part, are large enough for small boats to navigate for a short distance inland, and for rafts higher up. Some abaka is, in fact, floated down on rafts.

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

No large political entity exists among the Subanuns. In a general way, however, they seem to me naturally to fall into four groups, which differ slightly from each other in dialect and customs. These groups are, the Subanuns of the south coast of the peninsula from Tukuran to the neighborhood of Buluan; those occupying the small end of the peninsula, on both sides, from Buluan on the east coast to Kipit on the west; the Subanuns living on or near Sindangan Bay; and those occupying the high country behind the Christian towns in Misamis Province and the eastern part of Dapitan subdistrict.

The first of these groups, owing to its living for centuries in immediate proximity to a considerable Moro population, and to the datus of the house of the Sultans of Magindanau, to whom it paid tribute, has received some slight tincture of Moro customs. The second group, occupying the small end of the peninsula on both sides, has been still more subject to outside influences. Its numbers are small, and its intercourse considerable with Moros—Samals, Sulus, and Magindanaus—and Christians. There are probably in this region more Kalibugans—that is, Subanuns somewhat mixed with Mohammedans of long standing and in a state of transition between Subanun and Moro culture—than there are pagan and unmixed Subanuns. Contact with Zamboanga Filipinos and with Jesuit missionaries has also left its mark on them. Missionary labors among them were commenced early in the seventeenth century, and after a long interruption were taken up again in the second half of the nineteenth. A considerable proportion of the pagan Subanuns of this group has been baptized, and the people, in spite of their backsliding when the pressure on them was removed by the withdrawal of Spain from the islands, can not but have been influenced by their experience. The Subanuns of this region, therefore, are probably the least adapted to give the investigator a correct idea of the genuine Subanun culture.

The Subanuns of western Misamis Province and of the eastern part of Dapitan subdistrict have been, speaking generally, free from Moro influence. It is probable that some of them have been victimized at times by Moro raiders from the Lake, but in general their remoteness and the mountain barriers between them and the Moros have shielded them from the influence of the latter. I have had no opportunity of observing personally the Subanuns east of Dapitan on the northern side of the peninsula, but my inquiries have failed to develop the fact of their ever having paid tribute to Moro datus. On the other hand, these Subanuns

are neighbors of a large Christian population, and there has been some contact in trade. Bisaya traders go into the Subanun country to buy upland rice and abaka, and Subanuns come down into the Christian pueblos to sell the same and to purchase cloth and other articles.

Missionary effort has also had considerable effect in this region. The "new Christian" Subanun villages were about twenty in number in Misamis and the *comandancia* of Dapitan just before the Philippine revolution, and some of them have survived the changes of the past decade, while even the "new Christians" who abandoned their villages and relapsed into paganism must have been influenced to some extent by the Christian training they had received. However, in Misamis Province there is still a considerable Subanun population that retains the old customs, and would repay study.

The Subanuns living on or near Sindangan Bay have remained at least as free from outside cultural influence as any other considerable group. They paid tribute to Moros for a long time, probably for centuries, and later to Spain, and they have not been quite free from Ilanun Moro raids; furthermore, for a long time past Moros have come to Sindangan Bay in boats to trade for rice. Nevertheless, the remoteness of these Subanuns from any large body of Moros or Christians has largely preserved them from assimilation either in blood or culture with these other people. There are practically no Kalibugans on the bay or its neighborhood, and although a small post of native troops under Spanish officers was placed near the mouth of the Sindangan River in 1886, and some missionary work was done by Jesuits, neither factor seems to have had time enough, or been pressed with sufficient energy, to produce any great effect on the Subanuns. This region, therefore, seemed to me to present as good a field as any for study of the Subanun culture.

HISTORY

EARLY HISTORICAL REFERENCES

The first appearance in writing of the name of the Subanuns is probably in Pigafetta's account of the first journey around the world, made in 1519–1523. He mentions the fact that in the course of the voyage along the south coast of Mindanao he went ashore at a place called Subanim. This was probably a careless way of spelling the name of the people who live in the region, such a mistake as using the name of a tribe for one of its settlements not being unlikely under the circumstances. It may be that the final *m* in the name represents a printer's misreading for an original *n*.

The next references to the Subanuns which have come to my notice occur in the History of Mindanao and Sulu, by Father Francisco Combés.[3]

[3] Published at Madrid in 1667.

In giving an account of the various "nations" of the former island, he says:

"The fourth nation (of Mindanao) is that of the Subanos, who are the inhabitants of the rivers, to which they owe their name, as *suba* is the word common to those nations for river. This is the nation whose people are the least esteemed, both on account of their natural barbarism, living as they do in high wild country, with as little sociability as animals, and having their houses placed a league apart wherever one of them may be pleased to make himself a settlement, and on account of their poverty, which is extreme. * * * They lack civilization as well as human intercourse, for they are so opposed by nature to intercommunication that they grow old in their *rancherías* without being drawn by curiosity from their settlements, or seeing the sea, although some of them live within sound of its waves; and if necessity or gain does bring them in sight of its shores, they are contented with that, without seeking to tempt fortune through its dangers. * * *

"They are as cowardly as treacherous, the one quality being the consequence of the other. He who best prepares a treacherous act, and with the least danger to himself, is accounted the bravest; and as all know each other, all have a care to themselves, building their houses so high that a spear can not reach to wound them. The common practice is to seek a very high tree, wherein to build a nest in safety, for as the houses are so small and simple, a tree can easily bear one. The ladder by which they climb is a beam with notches hacked in it, and when night comes, the ladder is drawn up, and the owners sleep in security. * * *

"Nearly all this nation is in a state of vassalage to the Lutaos,[4] and each pueblo [*sc. ranchería*] recognizes a chief of that people, to whom it pays tribute, and he on his part bears himself as a king among them, and does and undoes as he pleases. This authority was started originally under pretext of the recognition of the king of Mindanao[5] and a contribution to him, and became a firmly established tyranny, for now the greater part of this nation has become subject to the Lutaos, its stupidity exposing it to a thousand deceits, and its helplessness to a thousand outrages.

"The costume of the Subanos is similar to that of the coast peoples with whom they come in contact; thus, those who are in communication with the Lutaos or Moros, dress like them, while those who are familiar with the Bisaya nations—who occupy Caraga and the coast of Dapitan—follow the latter.

"The government of the Subanos is disorder itself, as they carry on war, not as nation against nation, nor town against town, but all as enemies of the human race. Thus they are armed against themselves, without subordination nor other subjection than that secured by the power and violence of the boldest. They had no other laws to follow in their disputes than the power of the aggrieved party to avenge himself, and his rigor could be assuaged in the most atrocious case by gifts.[6] And so, when a Subano came to possess a little wealth, enough to pay for a murder, with perfect safety he executed it, in order to be reckoned among the brave, and as such to wear a red turban;[7] and for the sake of this satisfaction of vanity, they used to kill the friendliest person, if they

[4] In all probability the tribe now known as *Samals*.

[5] That is, the Sultan of Magindanau.

[6] The "gifts" were probably nothing but fines, the usual penalties among primitive peoples.

[7] A similar privilege of wearing garments of distinctive coloring—red, with white spots, among the Bagobos—is reported as existing among the Bagobos and Manobos, and probably also among the Bilans and Atas of Mindanao, for those who have killed a certain number of men.

caught him asleep or off his guard. Among the Caragas[8] the same custom was carried to a greater extreme, for in order to wear the costume of the brave, which consisted of a striped turban and breeches after their fashion, namely, loin cloths, similarly striped, it was necessary to have slain seven persons.

"The peculiarity of this nation, and a trait which gives it some excellence and estimation, is that its women are most chaste and modest, preserving their virginity, even when adult, until marriage. It is true that their natural wildness and shyness aids them to attain to this virtue and enables them to succeed in this undertaking, which is rare and difficult among the Lutaos and other nations of these islands.

"So much is this characteristic of the Subanos esteemed, that the chief men of the highest pretensions among the Lutaos, in order to make their daughters more secure, bring them up among the Subanos, without bringing them into the dangerous field of their own nation, unless it be to give them in marriage. * * *

"There exists among the Subanos a class of men who profess celibacy, * * * and go among women without hesitancy or suspicion. They dress exactly like women, with skirts of the same sort, and they do not use arms nor any art proper to men, nor do they associate with them. They weave blankets, which is the work of women, and associate with them. * * * I have known two of these men in the course of journeys along the coast of Siocon,[9] which runs for 30 leagues from Samboangan[10] towards Dapitan."

Father Combés goes on to state that these persons are called *labia,* that they look like eunuchs, and that he converted one, whom he baptized under the name of Martin. This existence of celibates among the Subanuns is, however, according to this author, but a "spark of good customs," which is more than offset by the custom existing among them of husbands exchanging wives, on which occasions, as also on those of the restitution, dancing and drunkenness are indulged in.

He refers to Subanun customs regarding the dead in the following language:

"The Subanos follow in some measure the customs of the Lutaos. They even reduce themselves to poverty by the cult of the dead, their barbarism being conspicuous at the side of their piety, for from grief they throw into the sea gold ornaments, trappings, and the most valuable jewelry, a custom which is almost universal in all these islands. But in one particular their cruelty is peculiar, namely, in giving companions to the deceased * * *. For on the loss of a father, son, or near relative, or some loved person, they used to take up arms and kill the first person they met."

EARLY MISSIONARY EFFORTS

The Society of Jesus early undertook the conversion of the Subanuns. The enterprise was conducted mainly from two centers, Dapitan and Zamboanga, the priests with headquarters at Dapitan taking charge of the coast as far as Kipit, where the field of the Zamboanga priests began. The people of the town of Dapitan, Bisayas who, according to Combés, had immigrated from Bohol and early been converted, were enthusiastic

[8] People of the northern part of the east coast of Mindanao.
[9] Siukun.
[10] Zamboanga.

Christians, and aided in the work in several ways. Ordinarily they furnished an escort, usually consisting of four men, to the priests on their missionary journeys up and down the coasts; at times, in accordance with the ideas of the age, they used force.

"The care of Don Pedro Cabiling[11] was a great aid; his valor was impatient to see all those barbarians subject to the law of God, and to the obedience of the king; he entered all their forests, without being deterred by the remoteness of the enterprise, and without leaving, along thirty leagues of coast, any mountain where he had not carried on a campaign with the rigor of punishment. So that he broke up their barbarous peace to such a degree that the inhabitants, not knowing where to secure themselves against his valor, took refuge in the love which they knew awaited them in the pueblos, and descended in troops to be inscribed and settle down with the others."[12]

The labor of the missionaries was not slow in having tangible effects. Father Pedro Gutierrez, who was the first to devote his time largely to the work of converting the Subanuns of the Dapitan district, succeeded in forming towns or villages on thirteen rivers, and in these towns there were, when Combés wrote his history, the same number of churches. He built houses for the use of the priests in Oraya,[13] Dipolo, Dikayo, and Duhinog. He was followed by Father Melchor de Vera, Father Francisco Luzon, who passed seven years in the work, and Father Francisco Paliola, a Neapolitan. Under the latter, the work on Dapitan Bay seemed to be so well advanced that he left it, with its three churches of Duhinog, Dikayo, and Dipolo, in charge of Father Joseph Sancini, and gave himself entirely to pioneer work on the coast beyond Cape Peña Blanca. Father Combés relates as follows the cause and manner of his martyrdom.

"Those pueblos [i. e., those of this coast] are numerous but small. For the largest does not contain fifty families, and the most have but twenty. The small hope held out by their insignificant size, and the large hopes offered by more populous towns, caused the priests to make them but short visits, and few, so that the most remote towns, such as Quipit, which is the boundary between the jurisdiction of Iligan and that of Samboangan, were visited but twice a year, the dangerousness of the coast frequently preventing the accomplishment of the fervent desires of the priests. Thus the people remained in their natural wildness. * * *

"The priest converted many by his humanity and affectionate treatment, but as the laws which, as ambassador of heaven, he laid down to them, were so contrary to their natural mode of life, many bore them ill, and their first curiosity and respect being spent, they felt that weariness which the former shortness of the priest's visits had made endurable, but which his continual presence now rendered intolerable. The wild people of the mountains, and the lions who were the chiefs of human wild beasts, felt themselves deserted by the people, whom the loving efforts of the priest were rapidly drawing down out of the hill country to the shore. * * * It seemed to them that so many masses,

[11] A *Dapitanun* with the title of *maestre de campo*, and the chief citizen of the town.
[12] Ibid., p. 134.
[13] Now Ilaya.

and so many Christian exercises, were a new invention of the priest. * * * By this foolish reasoning, they were brought to resolve that he should be killed, thinking that then they would be let alone, or at the worst, would be left in the comparative ease which the lack of missionaries had formerly allowed them. Their women on their part stirred up the fire, saying, 'Why such frequent mass? It's always mass, mass. Kill the father and he will let us live.'

"So the Subanos resolved to do, * * * and the priest on his part facilitated their plan, for on account of the confidence which his well-known love for these barbarians gave him, and out of the compassion which he felt for the men of Dapitan, when he saw them employed in guarding him in pueblos of such slender resources, he dismissed his escort, and remained only with two little altar boys. When the treacherous Subanos saw him alone, their ferocity made them hasten to the deed, cloaking their intended treachery in pretended furtherance of his pious desires. For the man selected as executioner, a pagan named Tumpilo, sent to tell him that he wished to be converted, and to that end would come down out of the hills. The priest awaited him without suspicion or precautions, and Tumpilo came, with a considerable number of men, as if he were going to take a fort, and before daylight made his attack on the house. The priest's servants quickly realized, both from the sound of arms and the expression of the faces, what the purpose was, and notified him. He, seeing that his hour was come, and the shortness of the time left to him, ran to his oratory, and taking a crucifix, awaited the crown of martyrdom. All entered in a confused mass, Tumpilo most shamelessly of all, and seizing the priest by the hair, he dealt a mortal blow with his knife, and after him, the others wet their barbarous and cowardly blades in his blood, leaving the priest a bloody victim of the gospel, his constancy and courage sealed with his blood." [14]

Father Paliola's murder was punished by the Spanish Government, and does not appear to have permanently retarded the work of converting and collecting into Christian pueblos the Subanuns.

The Campaign was also pushed forward vigorously from the Zamboanga side. Father Pedro Tellez took station at Tungawan, on Sibugai Bay, where the Subanuns were under a certain Antonio Ampi, a converted Moro. Along the south coast he built sixteen churches or chapels. Likewise the rivers between Zamboanga and Kipit were visited by the priests, and churches or chapels were erected on the more important ones, beginning in the very outskirts of the town of Zamboanga and running northward. Of the Subanun villages along this portion of the coast, Father Combés reckons Siukun as the most important. In this village he states that practically all were converted.

The ordinary way of carrying on the mission work among the Subanuns seems to have been, wherever possible, to build a chapel, appoint a native teacher or teachers for the boys and girls, and a native *fiscal* to maintain Christian discipline, such as appearing at religious exercises, sending the children to the school, and the like. At certain intervals the missionaries from the central stations like Zamboanga made the round of these small outstations. Father Combés also states that it was, in

[14] Combés, loc. cit., 136–138.

the portion of the Subanun mission field directly dependent on Zamboanga, customary to leave a Pampanga soldier at the chapels to serve as a guard. As elsewhere in the Archipelago, the State backed up the missionaries, who were valuable instruments of conquest, and besides furnishing them with an escort, assigned each one a certain amount of salary. Under this system, the mission made rapid progress, and had not work been abandoned later because of the withdrawal of the garrison from Zamboanga, the Subanuns would probably have been a part of the Christianized "Filipino" population to-day.

However, it was not without opposition on the part of the Subanuns that the work was carried on. The following account of the causes and manner of another martyrdom, that of Father Juan del Campo at the hands of the people of Siukun on January 25 (old style), 1650, is quoted from Father Combés, a contemporary worker in this portion of the Subanun field, for the sake of the additional light which it throws on Subanun relations with the Spaniards:

"He who with the greatest felicity traveled this coast toward Dapitan, and especially Siocon, its largest town, was the good Father Juan del Campo, for having found hardly anything done, he left almost nothing to do. These Indians had been the least cultivated, their hardness being defended not only by their indomitable and barbarous character but also by the wildness of their coasts, exposed as these were to the fury of all the winds, and without shelter or port for many leagues, save some dangerous bars. And as the priests had been so few, until the favor of Governor Diego Fajardo, they had been able to visit this region scarcely once a year, and that only with difficulty. The people were divided among twelve rivers or towns. * * * The affairs of Zamboanga having increased, and there being six missionaries, it was possible profitably to divide up the work. To Father Juan del Campo was assigned this coast. * * * This nation is undoubtedly one of those which, for their own good, stand in need of a certain amount of violence. * * * And so the priest availed himself of all his force of spirit, using a thousand schemes to overcome their intractable character. One of his schemes was to take away boys from their villages, choosing those of the principal families, in order that, through instruction and the sight and contact with Spaniards and persons of other nations, they might lay aside their natural wildness and might reduce the parents to greater humanity. * * * This plan gave good results, for when the Subanos were instructed, they showed more than mediocre capacity, and showed what there was in their nation, if only it allowed itself to be instructed. Therefore he attempted to carry out the scheme in Siocon, which, as the most remote village, preserved its natural refractorines.[15] He tried to obtain one, and the parents resisted as if he were asking for the boy in order to take him to the beheading block. But this same resistance gave the priest a greater desire to take him, thinking that by his means he could break the spell of the barbarous and jealous suspicion of the parents. * * *

"The priest already had everywhere churches and houses, such as the poverty of the natives allowed, and in the town of La Caldera, by the favor of the neighboring governors of Samboangan, a very capacious church and house, and a

[15] Sp. *Se conservaba en su natural dificultad.*

large garden, and through more constant cultivation the Indians well reduced, and four rivers attached to his outstation, so that they enjoyed more teaching of doctrine. Then he attempted to proceed to tame those of Siocon, and with this in view he decided to move the church down from the forests to the beach.

"Returning to Siocon, and starting in to execute his plan of bringing the people down to the beach for instruction, he came down with them, taking down on rafts that portion of the timber of the church which could be used, and after clearing the site, he proceeded to stretch out cords to mark the outlines of the building. He undertook this labor with his own hands, for such humble buildings have no master workman but the priest, and the Pampangas and Spaniards of the escort assisted him, as being those who best understood his language, through this courtesy, which was not part of their proper office, failing in their obligation of caring for and defending him. The Subanos, who had intended to carry out their impious purpose at a time when they should be in larger numbers, took courage when they saw so good an opportunity, and made their decision, although not twenty-two in number. The servant whom the priest had taken by violence for his good, and whom, in order to please the parents, he had brought with him well clothed and treated, aided in preparing the treacherous act, by secretly taking away the arms of the other servants, even to the knife of the cook. * * * Seeing our men unarmed, the Subanos closed in on them, almost man to man, and one gave the priest a spear-thrust. And he, feeling himself mortally wounded, withdrew to the boat. With barbarous fury they followed him, and dealt him another blow when he was on the edge of the boat, so that he fell into the river. They also killed the Spaniard who formed part of the escort, called Gregorio de Acosta, and five Pampangas, one native of Cagayan escaping badly wounded, down the coast. Two other servants were killed, one of whom was Andresillo, a Spaniard, one servant being spared on account of his being a Subano."

The Spanish authorities at Zamboanga sent a punitive expedition against Siukun, accompanied by Father Combés, which failed to capture the principals and was obliged to content itself with destroying as much Subanun property as it could, and taking a number of prisoners to the city. No further serious acts of violence on the part of the Subanuns against the priests are reported by Combés, but it appears, from the two instances of martyrdom given above, and from various passages of this author regarding the stubbornness of the Subanuns, sufficiently evident that there existed a strong undercurrent of hostility to the abrupt changes in religion and mode of life demanded by the Spanish authorities which explains why, when pressure was removed by the abandonment of the fortified place of Zamboanga, the Subanuns fell back into their old religious and social practices.

This happened in 1661, during the captaincy-general of the Marquis Manrique de Lara, who wished to concentrate the troops in Manila to await the attack of the Chinese pirate Koxinga. The Jesuit missionaries protested earnestly against the withdrawal of the garrison from the fort of Zamboanga, but to no avail. The governor of Zamboanga, acting on orders from Manila, turned over the fort to a "Lutao" [16] chief who had

[16] See p. 18, note 4.

been an auxiliary of the Spaniards, had been baptized with the name of Alonso Macombon, and had been given the title of "maestre de campo" or master of camp of the Lutaos. This Lutao chief swore homage to the Spanish King, and promised to defend the fort against everyone *save the King of Mindanao* (the Sultan of Magindanau), as he stated that he did not have sufficient force to withstand the latter. The Spanish governor of Zamboanga was under no illusions regarding the ultimate fate of the fort, and dismantled it of cannon and munitions before making the transfer. The Jesuit fathers also saw themselves obliged to turn over to the chief the church and the mission house they held in Zamboanga, and even the ornaments of the altars. More than a thousand persons had to be accommodated on the vessels of the fleet leaving the town, and only the most valuable baggage could be taken away. Father Combés states that by the withdrawal of the Spaniards from Zamboanga "six thousand Christians remained exposed to the cruelty of the Moros." It is not clear whether Combés means to include in this number the Bisayas of Dapitan or not. In any case, even allowing a thousand inhabitants to Dapitan, the number 5,000 remains as that of the Jesuit converts in western Mindanao and Basilan. It seems reasonable to allow 4,000 as the number of Christian Subanuns.

Zamboanga was not garrisoned again until 1718. I have met with no first-hand account of the Subanuns dating from the intervening period. There can, however, be no reasonable doubt but that practically all the Subanun converts, with the possible exception of those in the immediate neighborhood of Dapitan, reverted to paganism. The overlordship of the Lutao Moros, the latter acting at least nominally as agents for the Magindanau Moro princes, which had been in a fair way of being superseded by the Spanish authority as the conversion of the Subanuns progressed, was restored. Combés mentions by name several of the Lutao overlords, such as, for example, the one on the Siukun River. It is natural to suppose that these overlords saw with pleasure the departure of the Spaniards, whose rival claim to sovereignty over the Subanuns could not but have been in their way.

Although the Fort of Zamboanga was reoccupied by Spanish forces in 1718, the succeeding period, up to the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1769, was one in which Spain made practically no headway in Mindanao against the Moro power. The Lutao Moros, among whom many converts had been made during the earliest period, seem to have been confirmed in the Mohammedan religion during the interval of abandonment, and were now a strong barrier to missionary enterprises among the Subanuns, so that the work may be said to have been practically at a standstill.

In 1769 the Jesuits were expelled from the Philippines, and their place in Mindanao was taken by Augustinians. The change does not seem to have had any considerable bearing on the conversion of the Subanuns.

A little absorption seems to have gone on around the Christian pueblos of Zamboanga, Dapitan, and the coast pueblos of what is now the Province of Misamis, but that was all.

MORE RECENT MISSIONARY EFFORTS

It is only upon the return of the Jesuits to Mindanao in 1860 that the work of converting the Subanuns was resumed in earnest. As before, Dapitan and Zamboanga were the two centers, of which Zamboanga was the more important. The Jesuits founded a large number of settlements of converted Subanuns during the period between this new start of missionary work and the downfall of Spanish power in the Archipelago. It is safe to say that there were two or three dozen villages of this kind, most of them small, in 1898. The methods of work were much the same as in the seventeenth century. The Government assigned each missionary a modest salary, furnished an escort when necessary, and allowed him considerable authority in dealing with the pagans. The missionaries resided at certain strategic points, whence they made journeys up and down the coasts, going up the rivers, and inducing the pagans to come in from their scattered forest clearings and live together in villages placed as near the seacoast as physical conditions and the disposition of the Subanuns allowed. In these villages chapels were built, schools under native teachers were organized, and *fiscales,* to keep up Christian discipline, appointed. The most influential man available was formally recognized as a *capitan* or *gobernadorcillo,* but the real power was in the hands of the priest, who served as the advocate of the barbarians with the Government, and guided their faltering steps into the paths of civilization, seeking their temporal scarcely less than their spiritual welfare.

RELATIONS WITH THE MOROS

TRIBUTE PAID TO THE MOROS

We have, unfortunately, no written testimony that goes into details regarding the past relations between the Moros and the Subanuns. Combés, in a passage quoted above, states that most of the Subanuns were subject to the Lutaos, but he does not state the forms which this subjection took. Probably the Subanuns then paid tribute to the Moros, as they did in later times. Most of the Subanun country was claimed by the Sultans of Magindanau, whose seat was on the Rio Grande de Mindanao, and one infers from Combés' statements that it was in the name of these Sultans that the Lutao chiefs exercised their authority.

Neither do the Magindanau documents translated by Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby[17] make any mention of the relations between the Sultans and their pagan subjects. Captain Forrest, in 1775, spent some months at

[17] Publications of the Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands, 4.

the court of the Sultans of Magindanau. He uses the following language regarding the relations between these Sultans and their subjects, the "Haraforas," a descriptive name he applies to the pagans of the island:

"The vassals of the Sultans and of others, who possess great estates, are called Kanakan. These vassals are sometimes Mahometans though mostly Haraforas. The latter only may be sold with the lands, but can not be sold off the lands. The Haraforas are more oppressed than the former. The Mahometan vassals are bound to accompany their lords on any sudden expedition; but the Haraforas being in great measure excused from such attendance, pay yearly certain taxes, which are not expected from the Mahometan vassals. They pay a *boiss*,[18] or land tax. A Harafora family pays 10 *battels* of *paly*[19] (rough rice) of 40 pounds each; 3 of (cleaned) rice, about 60 pounds; one fowl, one bunch of plantains, thirty roots (called *clody*, or St. Helena yam), and fifty heads of Indian corn. I give this as one instance of the utmost that is ever paid. Then they must sell 50 *battels* of *paly*, equal to 2,000 pound's weight, for one *kangan*.[20] * * * Those vassals at Magindano[21] have what land they please; and the Mahometans on the seacoast, whether free or *kanakan*, live mostly by trading with the Haraforas. * * * They seldom grow any rice, and they discourage as far as they can, the Haraforas from going to Mindano[22] to sell the produce of their plantations. * * *

"The *boiss* is not always collected in fruits of the earth only. A taxgatherer, who arrived at Coto Intang when I was there, gave me the following list of what he had brought from some of Rajah Moodo's[23] crown lands, being levied on perhaps five hundred families: 2,870 *battels* of *paly*, of 40 pounds each; 490 Spanish dollars; 160 *kangans*; 6 *tayls*[24] of gold, equal to £30; 160 *Malons* (a cloth made of the plantain tree,[25] 3 yards long, and one thread)."

Just what proportion of the whole Subanun population was effectively tributary to the Moros, whether to the Magindanaus directly or through the Lutao chiefs acting as agents, it is impossible to say. Captain Forrest gives the boundary between Spanish and Magindanau territory on the south coast as running through Panubigan, about 20 kilometers east of Zamboanga; he also states that the Magindanaus had conquered from the Spaniards several places to the north of Zamboanga, such as Sirawai and Siukun. Combés, about a hundred years earlier, speaks of there having been a settlement of Lutaos at Dapitan when the Spaniards arrived in Mindanao. He nowhere refers to Moro settlements or the presence of Moro chiefs in the portion of the Subanun country east of Dapitan on the northern side of the island. He speaks of southern

[18] *Buhis.*

[19] *Palai.*

[20] This indirect tax, taking the form of the obligatory purchase of a certain amount of goods, is known among the Subanuns as *pamuku*, and was levied on them down to the establishment of American power in Mindanao. A *kangan* was a piece of coarse Chinese cloth, thinly woven, 19 inches broad, and 6 yards long. The value at Magindanau in Captain Forrest's time was about 10 pesos for 25.

[21] Magindanau, the region along the lower course of the Rio Grande de Mindanao.

[22] Name applied by Capt. Forrest to the town where the Sultan of Magindanau resided.

[23] Rajah Muda, the heir-apparent.

[24] Taels.

[25] Doubtless abaka ("Manila hemp") is meant.

Mindanao from Zamboanga eastward as belonging to the dominions of the Sultans of Magindanau, and of the western and northern shores, to a distance which he does not clearly define, as being under Lutao chiefs. The most probable inference from his casual statements seems to be, that all the Subanuns accessible from the southern shore of Mindanao from Zamboanga eastward were directly under the princes and datus of the House of Magindanau, and that those of the western and northern part of the island, as far as the neighborhood of Dapitan, were under the Lutao Moros, acting more or less strictly by authority of the same house. The Lutaos, according to Combés, furnished the bulk of the naval forces of the Sultans of Magindanau, and it is natural to suppose that the latter acquiesced in the privileged position the former occupied among western and northern Subanuns in consideration of this help in time of war.

I have been unable to gather any reliable data regarding the extent to which Moro control of the Subanuns reached into the interior in the relatively wide eastern portion of Sibugai Peninsula, nor did I learn just what amounts were collected from the Subanuns by the Moros as tribute in recent times, except for the country around Sindangan Bay. There, according to the concurrent testimony of several Subanun headmen, and of a Moro who claimed to have been in the employ of Datu Mandi of Zamboanga as a tribute collector, the following was the amount of the two kinds of tribute, *pamuku* and *buhis*, levied on the people in recent years:

For purposes of tribute paying and forced trading the people of the bay shore were grouped around five *rancherías* or settlements, each one of which was liable to a yearly direct tax (*buhis*) of 750 *gantas* of unhusked rice. In the market at Zamboanga, 25 *gantas* are reckoned as a *caván*, but the writer found on measuring a *ganta* used by the agents of Datu Mandi for the *buhis* and still in existence at a house near the mouth of the Sindangan River, that it was one and three-fourths the size of the *ganta* in current use in the shops of Zamboanga, so that the amount of direct tribute levied by him on the Sindangan Bay Subanuns may be taken as approximately 262 *cavanes*. Each of the five settlements had also to purchase annually 128 Spanish yards of cheap cotton cloth, for which it paid 800 *gantas* of rice. This forced trading was called the *pamuku*, and the measure used on the bay in transacting it, while called a *ganta*, was different both from the *ganta* of Zamboanga and from the *ganta* used in levying the direct tax, being one and three-eighths as large as the former.

Altogether, therefore, the Subanuns around the bay, numbering approximately 2,500 souls, paid 220 *cavanes* of rice for 640 Spanish yards of inferior cotton cloth. The old men of the region agree in saying that the *buhis* and *pamuku* had been collected from the Subanuns around the bay since time out of mind, up to the organization of American government in Mindanao, and that the above was the traditional amount paid, first to the princes and Sultans of the house of Magindanau, then

to an agent of the Spanish Government, and finally, during the interregnum between the Spanish evacuation and the organization of the Moro Province, to Datu Mandí of Zamboanga.

The Moros levied the tax and compelled the trading because their superior organization and their command of the sea gave them the power and they needed the revenue, but they justified themselves by quoting the passages of the Koran authorizing the believer to levy on the infidel.

FIRST ARRIVAL OF THE MOROS

There are a number of accounts handed down by tradition among the Subanuns which differ in certain details regarding the first arrival of the Mohammedans in the Subanun country, and the origin of the payment of tribute by the Subanuns to them. The following version, given to me by the old Subanun headman of Patawak, just west of Sindangan Bay, and forming part of the same culture area, may be of interest:

"The former name of Zamboanga was Nawan. There were in old times no Spaniards or Moros. The Moros first came in the time of the Subanun chief Tubunawai, before the Spaniards came. Tubunawai was a giant, but his brothers and the rest of his family were of ordinary size. Tubunawai's spearhead was a fathom long and as large as a small tree, and the shaft was as thick as a man's thigh. His chest measured seven palms in breadth. He could sling the loads of fifty men on his spear and walk off without feeling it, or carry fifty cooked pigs on a platter. In those days there were no people in Sulu, Basilan, or in the Gikwan (Sindangan) or Lanau districts. Tubunawai was a great hunter of wild pigs. He had a hunting lodge on Lake Lanau, another on Sibugai Bay, and a third on the Gikwan (Sindangan) River. He hunted the pigs with dogs. When he wished to go to Nawan from any one of his hunting stations he could make the journey in one day. Tubunawai was chief of all the Subanuns there were at that time. They lived at Nawan, not on the shore, where the town of Zamboanga now is, but on the hillsides above. They felled the big trees and planted rice between the stumps.

"At this time there were two brothers in Mecca, Assam and Salingaya Bungsu.[26] These brothers were rich, and sailed about looking for adventures. One day they arrived in Sulu. From there they could see a string of islands and finally they found that there was a big island to the north. One day Assam—the elder—and Salingaya Bungsu decided to see who was the better sailor and had the finer boat, by starting out together at dawn for the great island to the north, and seeing who would get there first. The first to arrive was to have the island as the prize of the race. Before they started they stayed in Sulu a year, making preparations by raising food for the voyage. Finally the preparations were complete, and the two boats started at dawn. But Assam's servant, before the start, had cut the rudder and the oar of his master's ship nearly through. So after both were well in the open, Assam's rudder and his oars broke. Salingaya Bungsu sailed on, but missing his brother, came back to see what was the matter. Assam pointed to the broken rudder and oars. 'I can not go on,' he said, 'I must make for the nearest land.' It was the island known to-day as Balabak.

[26] Bungsu is a Malay word meaning younger brother.

"Salingaya Bungsu went on, and seeing a river flowing into the sea at Nawan—this river is the river of Zamboanga—he entered it. The Subanuns lived, not on the coast, but up in the hills. So the people from Mecca saw no sign of men, and thought that the island was uninhabited. They settled down to fish with their nets.

"One day, while the newcomers were drying their fish on a little platform, it began to rain hard, and continued to rain hard for three days. On the fourth day, a great flood swept down the river. While Salingaya Bungsu was looking gloomily at the great flood of water, yellow with mud, he noticed something that astonished him. There were floating on the yellow water, the broad green leaves of the taro, wisps of rice straw, bobbing calabashes, and stalks of sugar cane. 'There must be people in those hills above us,' he said to his men. When the rain ceased, Salingaya Bungsu picked out seven men and loaded them with the fish that had been set out to dry before the rain storm. 'Take these fish into the hills,' he said, 'and exchange them for provisions like those we saw floating down the river.' The men jumped into the small boat they used in casting and gathering in their nets, and went up the river. When the water became too swift and shallow, they tied the boat to a tree on the bank, and looked about them. Finally they saw a narrow trail and started up it. Tired and puffing from the steepness of the trail and the weight of the fish, they lay down to rest a few minutes on a long flat stone. They were about to go on when they saw two persons. The two parties saw each other at the same time and the two men fled. Then the seven men of Salingaya Bungsu held a consultation. One of two things is certain to happen, they decided. 'Those two persons will tell their people of our presence, and on our going up to their village, we shall either all be killed—in case these people are not afraid of us—or, in case they are afraid of us, they will all run away, like the two men we saw, and we shall accomplish nothing.' So the seven men decided to leave the fish on the long flat stone on which they were resting. This they did to show that they came as friends, and also with the hope that the people of the hills would do them a favor in return.

"When they returned to Salingaya Bungsu's settlement with their boats empty and told the story of all that had happened, Salingaya Bungsu did not blame them. 'Only,' he said, 'you must go back to the long flat stone to-morrow to see what has happened.' So on the morrow the seven men set out again. But in the meantime the two Subanuns had told their story to Tubunawai. Tubunawai said the strangers at the flat stone must be Subanuns, but they said, 'No.' Tubunawai continued, 'so you ran, did you?' and taking his big spear stalked down alone to the long flat stone. When he arrived near it he called again and again but met with no reply. Then he came to the stone itself, and found it covered with fish. He tasted the fish and saw that it was good. Then stringing the whole seven man-loads of fish on his spear, he carried it to his people. 'These people must be men of good customs; they left their fish for us, to show that they only want a fair exchange. We have taro, and rice, and sugar cane, and they have fish. They wish to give us fish in exchange for these things. So let everyone go down to the flat stone in the morning, and place on it what he can of the things the strangers wish.' So on the next morning the flat stone was covered with rice and vegetables, for the Subanuns had very seldom tasted salt-water fish, and found it good.

"When the seven men returned, with orders to bring back the fish if it was still in place and was not spoiled, they were overjoyed to find the fresh food, and hastily loading it into their boat, returned to Salingaya Bungsu. 'Now,' said he, every day we shall take fish up there, and bring back their produce in

exchange.' So this kind of trading went on for some days, but Tubunawai could not contrive to meet the newcomers personally. Finally he put on his best clothes—made of abaka—went down the river, and at its mouth, he saw a *sapit*.[27] He called again and again to the people on board, but they, being unable to understand his words, and frightened by his great bulk, remained hidden in their vessel. Finally Tubunawai lost patience, and seizing the *sapit* with his hands, he dragged it to the shore together with all the people on board. But at first it seemed as if his trouble had been taken in vain. For the men of the boat being from Mecca, they could not understand him. Finally a man was found on the boat who was more clever than the rest at making signs, and he succeeded in communicating a few facts to Tubunawai. For example, by putting his hand on his stomach and then on some of the vegetable food brought down from the hills, he showed that the people of the boat were hungry for such things. Again when Tubunawai asked by signs, 'Are you going back to your country?' Salingaya Bungsu's man pointed to the broken rudder.

"Tubunawai returned to the hills, and Salingaya Bungsu followed him up there after a short time. He took with him a book, in which he wrote down the words he heard, for, being from Mecca, he knew how to write, and after a year's time could speak the Subanun language. As soon as he knew enough Subanun to make himself understood, he asked Tubunawai whether he could stay in the country. Tubunawai replied that as far as living in the hills was concerned, he could not give his consent, but that Salingaya Bungsu and his men could continue to live down [illegible] beach by the river mouth. Things went on thus until three years had [illegible] since Salingaya Bungsu's arrival. Then he wished to marry.

"Now, Tubunawai had a daughter, of ordinary size, and very pretty. Salingaya Bungsu asked Tubunawai for her, but he said the thing was impossible. 'Your customs,' he said, 'are different from ours. For example, you do not eat pork, while I,' pointing to his pack of dogs, 'have three hunting stations where I hunt the pig—on the Lake, on Sibugai Bay, and on the Gikwan (Sindangan) River.' But, when Salingaya Bungsu insisted, Tubunawai said, 'I do not know how to write, but you do. Write an agreement between us, and sign your name, declaring that you leave the customs of Mecca to follow mine. To show the sincerity of your oath, you and your people must sit down to a dinner of pork. Only on these terms can you have my daughter.' Salingaya Bungsu agreed. He drew up an oath, in which he swore to follow the customs of Nawan. Then preparations were made for the wedding, and Salingaya Bungsu and his men sat down to a feast.

"They were seated at a big table loaded with cooked pigs. Salingaya Bungsu's followers ate the pork—they also wished to marry—and Salingaya Bungsu himself was on the very point of doing so; but his future father-in-law had pity on him, and before his lips had touched the flesh, he heard Tubunawai say, 'Do not eat pig's flesh if you do not wish to. I only set this to try your sincerity.' So Tubunawai's daughter and the shareef from Mecca were married amid great rejoicing, and his men also chose wives.

"Some of the Subanuns, after this, came down into the Nawan coast plain, and opened clearings where are now the *barrios* of Tetuan and Santa María. The two peoples continued to follow their former occupations, the Subanuns making a living from the soil, and the newcomers getting theirs from the sea. A short time after his marriage, Salingaya Bungsu, while sailing along the coast looking for good fishing places, was much pleased by the shores of the Bay of Sibugai,

[27] Name of a kind of good-sized Moro boat without outriggers.

for the water was calmer than at Nawan. So he asked the permission of his father-in-law to go to Sibugai Bay, to stay there at least for a time. His people followed him, and some of the Subanuns also. He had obtained Tubunawai's permission to use the hunting lodge.

"About a year after his marriage, he had a daughter. Salingaya Bungsu's wife was the eldest of Tubunawai's daughters and this was the first grandchild, so the Subanuns of Nawan sent eggs, rice and such things for the little granddaughter and her mother. This sending of gifts turned out later to be a source of great trouble to the Subanuns, for later the Moros founded on it a claim to tribute.

"A few years after Salingaya Bungsu's arrival in Nawan there arrived at Nawan an old man from Mecca, quite alone. He came over the sea in a large caldron. He went up at once to see Tubunawai. Though no one showed him the trail, he knew at once where it was. He was a very wise man. He asked Tubunawai where Salingaya Bungsu was. He said he was the latter's father, and had set out to search for him and take him back. He also wished to convert Tubunawai to the Mohammedan religion, but the former refused, and showed the document in which Salingaya Bungsu promised, on marrying, to follow the customs of Tubunawai. When the old man read this document he wept. When Tubunawai said that Salingaya Bungsu was on Sibugai Bay, he went there and found the son. Then the old man, whose name was Mapaat, gave a ceremonial bath to his son and the people from Mecca, who wished to renounce and wash away their sins, and also to the Subanuns. Some of the Subanuns accepted the bath and were ancestors of the present Kalibugans; others refused and went up into the hills, being the ancestors of the Subanuns of the Sibugai Bay country. Mapaat went back to Mecca after a time, leaving Salingaya Bungsu on the shores of Sibugai Bay.

"After a time Salingaya Bungsu had a son, whom he named after his own father, Mapaat. From year to year Tubunawai sent to his son-in-law and family rice and other food from the soil, as they did very little besides fishing.

"When Salingaya Bungsu died his son Mapaat took his place. In the time of his brother and successor, Limpatuan, Sulu was made a fishing station at first, and later two of Mapaat's five brothers went there to live, taking some of the people with them. The people also cultivated the soil in Sulu, and prospered and became numerous, but their dress was made from abaka. Mapaat the elder sent a great many clothes to them from Mecca as a gift.

"When Tubunawai died, he was succeeded by Lumayag; then came Insak Sadangan; then Sagjaku. In his time arrived the Spaniards.[28] Sagjaku died in a Spanish prison, because he would not give up his Subanun customs to become a Christian. He was succeeded by his brother Dumulung who went with his people to Ayala, then called Maliwala by the Subanuns, and afterwards called by the Spaniards Dumulung after him. When Dumulung died and was buried there, he was succeeded by his son Sumambul; then came his son Sapai, who moved the people to Tinuba, between Patalun (Nueva Reus) and San Ramon. Polokasi (his brother) succeeded and moved the people to Patalun; then came Sapai's son Bunawan. Some one told the Spanish Government that Bunawan with some Subanuns who had fled from Zamboanga was at Patalun. The Spaniards sent soldiers to Patalun and captured him one day a little before dawn. His small son Bokotui followed him to Zamboanga. There Bunawan was asked by the Spaniards whether he did not recognize the Government. He said he did, but would not leave his old customs and be baptized. Then the Spaniards put him

[28] It will be noted that according to this Subanun tradition the Spaniards arrived in Mindanao in the fourth generation after the arrival of the first Mohammedans.

in jail. Thereupon he called his young son and told him to go back to Patalun and tell his mother and people to go up into the mountains following the river of Patalun, lest the Spanish soldiers should return and capture the whole family and the people. Bokotui did so, escaping from Zamboanga at night. All the people carried rice all night up the river from Patalun, and were soon well up in the mountains.

"A year after this movement, Bokotui was made headman. Only one year was spent in the mountains above Patalun, at a place called Duminatag, a little above Malayal. Then the people grew tired of the place and moved to Sibuku. There it was possible for the people to make salt by burning piles of wood and pouring sea water on the fire to evaporate the water. The people did not like Duminatag because they could not do this there, being too far from the sea. In Sibuku quite a stay was made; at that time there were no Kalibugans or other people there. After a time Bokotui left with some of his people for Piakan. Finally, after three years in Piakan he left for Siukun, but a large part of his people stayed behind. Bokotui ended his days in Siukun, and was succeeded by his brother Moong.[29] After that Manughan, nephew of Moong, was regent until Manglan, Moong's son, was old enough to rule. While Manughan was regent, a Spanish *galera* and *falua* came to Siukun. After examining the country it sailed away, but came back after two weeks, and the Spanish force, consisting of soldiers and a priest, made a large shed at the mouth of the river. They also built a chapel. The Spaniards caught eight Subanuns who had come down to gather *nipa*, and told them they must be baptized. One of the Subanuns escaped and told Manughan of the matter. Manughan had houses on a small stream known as the Kamanag. Here he threw up a *kota*,[30] and sent word to all his people, at Piakan, at Sirawai, at Nungan and Siukun, to come together to attack the Spaniards. They gathered there and at night, by moonlight, Manughan and his men marched down upon the large shed of the Spaniards. They found no one awake. The Subanuns carried torches, with which they set the shed and chapel on fire. In the alarm and confusion they killed the Spaniards, including the priest.

"It was five years after the Spaniards came to Nawan [Zamboanga] when they began the attempt to convert the neighboring Subanuns. About two-thirds of the Subanuns thereupon abandoned the neighborhood; those who remained became the nucleus of the present population of the town."

[29] Pronounced as two syllables.
[30] Fort in the Malayan style.

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSES

Whatever may have been the case in the time of Father Combés in the seventeenth century, the Subanuns of to-day, in those districts which I have seen, namely, the south coast of the Sibugai or Zamboanga Peninsula, and the northern and western coast as far east as Dapitan, do not build their houses in trees. The only approach to that manner of building which I have seen was in the case of a small house which was supported by the thick limbs of a tree, the branches of which had been cut off 2 or 3 feet above the lowest fork.

Subanun houses differ greatly in size. The two largest which I have seen were the house of Timuai Angilai, near Siari, a few kilometers east of Sindangan Bay, and that of Timuai Imbing or Embing at Pangpang, near Margos-sa-Tubig, Dumankilas Bay. The former measured very nearly 30 meters in length by 8 in breadth, and was supported by a multitude of small beams. The latter was about 45 meters long and 15 wide, and was supported on hardwood beams, some of them about 55 centimeters in diameter.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE

Subanun houses are almost invariably of one room. The floor is elevated from a meter and a half to two meters and a half from the ground. The space under the house is utilized in various ways. Nests for the hens are frequently hung between the beams; a pigsty often occupies a portion of the ground; and various odds and ends are hung free of the ground for safety. In course of time a great deal of filth accumulates from above. The floor is ordinarily of split bamboo or *palma brava* (*Livistona* sp.), with many interstices between. Through these interstices refuse of various sorts is constantly coming down. The Subanun is an almost constant betel chewer, and the red spittle and exhausted quid are sent down through the cracks. Fragments left after meals, bran and dust from the rice mortar, and ashes from the hearth are all swept down through these convenient openings. Small children usually urinate through them, and in cases of sickness, even their elders use them for the offices of nature.

During most of the year the ground under the floor is damp, partly from the water and moist rubbish that come down from above and partly from the fact that rain water flows under the house and is prevented from evaporating by its shade. The present writer has never seen any attempt on the part of the Subanuns to clean up this space except in the little towns of "new Christians" where the Government officials compelled them to do so.

The floor of the living room is sometimes, in the humbler dwellings, all on one level. A more common manner of construction is to have the outer edge of the floor raised for a distance of from 2 to 2½ meters in from the walls. This raised portion sometimes includes all four sides of the room, sometimes three, two, or even only one. Rooms walled off in a Subanun house are very rare. However, a kind of stall is sometimes made for a married couple by carrying up partial partitions of nipa leaf (*Nipa fruticans* Wurmb.) or other light material on two sides perpendicular to the side of the house; these form a three-sided inclosure that insures a certain degree of privacy. The raised portion of the floor is usually covered in part with mats. During the day these mats serve as lounging places, and at night, as beds.

Among the more prosperous families, cleaner mats are often rolled up during the day and only spread out at night. The finer mats are made of the leaves of the screw pine (*Pandanus* sp.), others are of *buri* palm leaves (*Corypha* sp.), of nipa, and even of split rattan. The poorer or more shiftless people sometimes use large pieces of bark as mats.

The use of sleeping curtains to keep out mosquitoes and to insure privacy is not very common. Some of the more prosperous use them, especially in settlements where there has been much Moro influence. Ordinarily the Subanun curls up at night in a sarong and possibly an extra piece or two of cloth, and keeps out mosquitoes as well as he can by wrapping up his head. When insects are especially troublesome he makes a smudge, either within the house or under it.

There is no ceiling in Subanun houses, and the beams of the roof serve as convenient places from which to hang a multitude of things. In the house of a prosperous family one may sometimes count as many as thirty or forty baskets and bundles suspended from the roof. The contents of these receptacles are of a very miscellaneous character. Clothing, ornaments, rice, peppers, squashes, corn, drums, guitars, and dishes are some of the things stored in this way.[1] The principal advantages in mind in thus disposing of things are two—the articles are out of the way, and they are protected from breakage and the action of insects and rodents. In this connection it must be borne in mind that the Subanuns seldom possess trunks or boxes such as are in common use among well-to-do Moros. The means of suspension is usually strips of rattan, and sometimes homemade strings of abaka fiber.

Subanun houses have no windows. Around the sides of the house a variable but usually considerable space is so thatched with palm leaves that the latter can be easily detached from the light framework which supports them. In good weather a sufficient portion of the sides of the room is thus opened to the light; moreover, there is often a slight hiatus

[1] It is a very common practice to hang salt, wrapped in leaves, over the hearth, to prevent its absorbing too much moisture from the atmosphere.

between the top of the sides of the room and the roof, a space protected by the overhang of the eaves against the entrance of rain. Some light is admitted through the door-opening, which seldom has a door to close it. A certain amount also comes in through the innumerable narrow open spaces in the floor.

A platform or porch is placed in front of the door in many Subanun houses. The size of this porch is, of course, variable, but it may be said to average about 2½ square meters in area. It serves as a convenient place for husking rice, drying clothes, and other household operations; it also tends to keep the interior of the house clean in rainy weather, as it furnishes those who enter with an opportunity to scrape off some of the mud from their feet. This porch or platform is usually furnished with a rude railing which connects the posts which support the structure at the corners.

As the living room of the house is always raised considerably off the ground, some form of ladder is necessary to enter it. This ladder, which reaches from the ground to the platform, where the latter exists, and directly to the doorway in other cases, is, in the great majority of cases, merely a notched log. When the family is not at home, this log is often lifted away from the door and leaned up against the house or the platform to one side. The notched log is sometimes flanked on one or both sides by more slender logs, so placed as to serve as a support to the hand. Occasionally the place of the notched log is taken by a ladder, the rungs of which, placed at somewhat irregular intervals, are lashed with rattan to the sides.

The roof of a Subanun house is commonly thatched with fronds of the nipa palm. The *pinnæ* of one side of the midrib are turned over to the other side, so as to get a denser thatching material, and the fronds are then attached by the midribs with strips of rattan, and in long parallel lines, to light stringers of bamboo. Several layers are required to form an effective thatch. In default of this material the leaves of other palm trees are used, such as the *buri*, the sago (*Metroxylon rumphii* Mart.), or a kind of inferior sago palm not uncommon in the forests. The pitch of the roof is usually fairly steep. The distance from the floor to the roof may be, along its central line, from 2 to 3 meters, while at the sides of the room it is frequently not more than 1 or 1¼.

The character of the beams which support the house varies considerably. Most Subanun houses are built without the expectation of using them more than a few years, as the frequent change of *kaingin* or clearings is apt, within a short period, to render it convenient to build a house near a new field, but occasionally a site is so favorable that the Subanun builds with an idea of permanence. It is natural that under this latter circumstance he should build his house with heavy, solid supports. At Panganuran, for example, on the west coast, a small grove

of coconut palms, which gives the village site an unusual value, has induced several of the leading men of the settlement to build substantial houses. The supporting beams of these houses are of hardwood from 15 to 20 centimeters in diameter. At Pang-Pang, on Dumankilas Bay, Timuai Imbing, having taken the advice of the American authorities to build a permanent house near the shore, has a dwelling supported by great beams of hardwood. However, such cases are exceptional. As a rule the supporting timbers are only about a decimeter thick, or a little more, and the whole building is so light that a man could easily shake the whole house by shaking one of the supports. The number also of these supports varies. It may run from the minimum number of four into the dozens. The tops of the supporting beams are connected with rough logs which serve as stringers to which the split bamboos, split *palma brava* or other materials of the floor are lashed with strips of rattan. It may be remarked that no nails are used in putting houses together, and that the use of wooden pegs is very rare. The universal fastening is split rattan. In addition to the perpendicular supporting beams, struts or props projecting laterally from the house are sometimes resorted to.

There is little to be said about the interior arrangement of the house. The hearth is usually placed near the door. It ordinarily consists of a shallow, wooden construction which is roughly square, and formed of a wooden bottom and four planks ab at 15 centimeters high that serve as sides. The bottom is, of course, covered with a thick layer of earth or ashes before the hearth is used. Earthenware pots rest on large stones placed in the ashes, and bamboos from 1 to 2 meters long, having the nodes knocked out, are leaned up against the sides of the house. The bamboos serve as water buckets and are used by women.

The small houses for storing rice are usually built near the dwelling house. The illustrations (Plate XX) will best give an idea of these. They are raised several feet from the ground, sometimes, indeed, so high that a notched log is necessary to get into them. The rice inside is contained either in baskets or in bags. The bags are made usually of the leaves of the screw pine, of the *buri* palm, or of nipa. The baskets may be made of any one of a considerable number of materials, the one in common use for large storage baskets being bark. The bark is so slit and folded that the bottom and sides of the basket, which is roughly cylindrical, are all in one piece. There is a seam along the whole length of the cylinder, where the edges are brought together by sewn work of split rattan. The top may be closed either with the same piece of bark which forms the sides and bottom, or with a piece of some other material. Experience has made the Subanun skilful in protecting his rice, and the store is seldom seriously impaired by insects or rodents.

No outbuildings save the storehouses are found around a Subanun house if the *maligai* or spirit-houses are excepted. No sanitary arrangements exist.

INTERIOR FURNISHING OF THE HOUSE.

The interior furnishings of a Subanun house vary in value from almost nothing to thousands of pesos. Some articles, such as, for example, coarse china plates, are in almost universal use. Plates of this sort have been materials for purchase or barter during hundreds of years; indeed it is practically certain that Subanuns obtained such things even before the Spanish conquest of the islands, securing them either directly from Chinese traders or indirectly from Moro or other Malayan middlemen. This opinion does not rest upon any single piece of conclusive evidence, but on an accumulation of data, no one of which, when taken alone, is decisive; but when all are taken together, the cumulative effect is to raise a very strong presumption in favor of the view that commerce with the Subanuns in these articles preceded the Spanish conquest. We have the statement from the earliest Spanish observers in the Philippines that they found Chinese junks trading, among other things, in chinaware, and that the Moros acted as the middlemen or retailers of the merchants in them. Both at Cebu, and at Kipit in the Zamboanga Peninsula, Pigafetta found the native chiefs eating from china plates and sucking liquor out of Chinese jars.

Again, the very large accumulations of broken chinaware found in the Subanun country, especially in burial caves and rock shelves, must have taken a long period of time to gather. In the year 1906, I visited a hilltop near Dapitan where chinaware, much of it sunk almost or quite out of sight in the surface soil, was found in abundance. Seventeen abandoned burial places, consisting of caves or rock shelters, were also visited at about the same time. In many of these burial places no metal implements or ornaments, such as the Subanuns place with the dead, were found, but all without exception had chinaware of various sorts. In some of the caves the abundance of this material was remarkable. One long-abandoned burial cave, containing a ground space of about 6 square meters, had not only had the whole space covered with broken chinaware, but contained an almost solid mass of this material to a depth of about half a meter. The burial customs of the Subanuns afford no ground for the supposition that this ware was brought in large quantities at a time. The great mass of material represents, in all probability, the results of small accretions, accompanying successive burials, and stretching over a long period of time. This cave is situated near the beach, at a point which had doubtless been passed by hundreds of Moro flotillas, and it may be remarked that its use by the Subanuns has been abandoned so long that the leading Subanuns in the neighborhood, on being questioned regarding the place, stated to the writer that it was a "Moro cave."

Other articles almost as universally found in Subanun houses are the brass boxes for holding betel nut and the ingredients of a "chew" that

ordinarily go with it, namely, slaked lime, betel leaves, and tobacco. These boxes are seldom made by the Subanuns. They are almost always obtained from Moros, formerly altogether by barter and during the last two or three years, since the establishment of "Moro exchanges" or markets in their country by the district government, frequently by purchase. There is nothing to differentiate these brass boxes, and brass cuspidors sometimes bought with them; from those used by the Moros themselves.

The boxes fall naturally into two classes, the small ones intended to hold one of the necessary ingredients, and the large ones intended to hold all. These large ones are often divided into compartments, one for each of the substances, but in other cases they contain but one chamber, into which the little boxes are placed. There is some variation in shape. In the large boxes an oblong form is the commonest; the little ones are likely to be round, although by no means always so. Prosperous families often have, in addition to the large and small boxes just mentioned, a utensil much like a box without a cover, in which the large box for all the chewing ingredients is loosely placed. This holder is frequently of brass openwork.

All of the utensils mentioned in the preceding paragraph are of variable size. Perhaps 20 cubic centimeters would be about the average capacity of the little boxes, and 200 cubic centimeters that of the large ones. The cuspidors are large. The outer circumference of the top averages about 30 centimeters. They are not nearly as common as the boxes.

The betel box plays an important part in the social life of the Subanuns. All public business is preceded and accompanied by chewing, and it would be considered the height of rudeness to fail to pass a box of the ingredients to any visitor. The offer of a chew comes before anything else is said or done.

Besides the boxes and cuspidors the only brass utensils to be found in a Subanun house are the large brass platters or *talam* used as a table on which to serve meals. These also are obtained from the Moros. Some are of Moro manufacture, but *talam* imported from Singapore also occasionally find their way into Subanun settlements through trade. The *talam* is ordinarily between a meter and a quarter and a meter and a half in circumference, with a raised edge. It should be placed on a brass stand from 20 to 40 centimeters high, but some families who can afford to purchase a *talam* stop short of acquiring the brass base.

The base is usually made in the form of a vase with the upper part cut into flaring lanceolate pieces, and so can serve as a receptacle for betel nut, etc., in addition to its use as a support for the *talam*. Ordinarily the latter is not fastened to its base, and when not in use is taken down. Many Subanun families, while too poor to possess *talam* of brass, make, of split rattan, small circular stands to serve the same purpose. These stands are all of a piece, woven together, and are about 30 centimeters high.

Brass jars, also secured from the Moros, are likewise found sometimes in Subanun houses. They vary in height from 15 to 40 centimeters and from 20 to 40 centimeters in maximum circumference. They are

sometimes imported, sometimes of Moro manufacture. Their use is for ostentation and also to hold things, particularly tobacco, betel nut, etc. Few Subanun families are so fortunate as to possess them.

Gongs, also obtained from the Moros, are highly prized by the Subanuns and the wealthier individuals have as many as they can purchase Small gongs, such as the Moros use in making *kulintangan*,[2] are not unappreciated among them, but the favorites are the large gongs, a meter or so in circumference. A Subanun will sometimes pay as much as 40 pikuls of unhusked rice for one of these. The Subanun is very far from regarding all gongs as alike. He notes distinctions in timbre that would hardly be regarded by the white man.

The gong plays a considerable rôle in Subanun life. It is, of course, called into constant requisition on all occasions of rejoicing, whether at a religious feast, a marriage, or merely the reception of a guest of importance. It is frequently played almost without intermission for days and nights on end. It also serves to call the people together, or, in the case of a voyager, to give notice of approach. Special rhythms are in use for these purposes, to prevent confusion with merely festive gong beating. The playing is done with a short stick which is often knobbed at the distal end with gutta-percha wrapped around with a piece of cloth.

Another object to be found in Subanun houses is the *lantaka*. This is a muzzle-loading cannon of alloyed metal, usually brass, and is obtained from the Moros. Owing to the difficulties in the way of securing ammunition, it may be said that the *lantaka* is purchased by the Subanuns merely for the sake of ostentation. The *lantaka* are usually set up on end on one side of the room, and serve both as an adornment and as a hoard or reserve which can be expended in a time of scarcity. It goes without saying that it is only the more wealthy Subanuns, usually, in fact, the headmen, who are able to secure them.

There is nothing to distinguish Subanun house furnishings from Moro in any of the metal objects just enumerated, the *talam*, brass jars, *lantaka*, and gong. There is, however, one article, which, while occasionally used by the Moro, is far more appreciated by the Subanun and collected by him in large numbers whenever his means will allow. This is the Chinese jar.

These are of many kinds and sizes. They may be anywhere from 15 centimeters to over a meter high. A good jar is difficult to purchase from a Subanun, and if, as is very commonly the case, he has come into possession of it by inheritance, the difficulty is increased tenfold. Some old jars are valued at an extravagantly high rate. One of the kinds most esteemed on Sindangan Bay bears the distinctive name of *gusa* or deer, because, so the writer was informed, it bears representations, in relief, of that animal. Jars of this particular class are subdivided into two categories, "male" and "female," the latter being somewhat

[2] A musical instrument consisting of a series of metal gongs played by striking with sticks.

smaller and less valuable than the former. Unfortunately, the writer was unable to see specimens of either sort. They are not common, and are usually concealed in the ground in the jungle and brought out only on special occasions.

The jars in the possession of the Subanuns do not impress me as being of any great intrinsic value. As a rule they are rather crude articles, and offer to the view many defects, of which poor glazing is the commonest.

The following list comprises the different jars seen at a single house, that of headman Mandí of Sindangan. The Subanun name is given, together with the conventional value at which they are held among the Subanuns. The jars always bear this conventional value when they change hands according to the terms of a marriage agreement, although they may be traded for a greater or less sum in ordinary commercial transactions.

Name.	Value.	Remarks.
1. Ling-u ling-u	12½ pikuls of *palai*[a]	
2. Bu-un	do	
3. Ka-kud	do	
4. Ka-li-gu-an	do	
5. Kun-dung-an	7½ pikuls of *palai*[a]	
6. Gha-lu-na-wan	6 pikuls of *palai*[a]	
7. Di-nam-pakh	10 pikuls of *palai*[a]	
8. Si-nan-tan	3 fathoms[b] of cloth or 1½ pikuls.	
9. Gun-su le-e	150 pikuls of *palai*[a]	A new one, hence not of the maximum value; was bought by present owner from a Moro trader for 85 pikuls of unhusked rice.
10. Tadjau	5 pikuls of *palai*[a]	Is no longer in stock with traders. Owing to scarcity it is worth its conventional price.
11. Li-ma li-ma	From 2½ to 5 pikuls of *palai*[a] according to size.	Specimen seen was a foot high. Covered with brown glaze save on bottom. It had small handles (*ta-ling-a*, i. e., "ears").
12. Gha-lu-as	About 1½ pikuls *palai* when somewhat larger than the specimen seen.	Specimen seen was 17 cm. high with glazing marked as if in scales or cracks. Specimen was old. The *ghaluas* is not in stock now with the traders who go into the Sindangan country.
13. Mi-na-nu-kan	2½ pikuls of *palai*[a]	Specimen seen at Mandí's house was about 45 cm. high; had "ears" placed rather low down; and had dragons and leaves in low relief. Several varieties exist.
14. Gun-su la-ki	32½ pikuls of *palai*[a]	Nearly a meter in height. Long out of stock with traders. The writer was told by the Subanuns that a few years ago Dayak traders from Sarawak, Borneo, came to Sindangan Bay seeking jars of this kind, and paying from 70 to 100 pesos for them. The specimen seen at Mandí's house was of a rich brown color and had two dragons in relief. A similar jar, a little lower, and without the relief work, also exists among the Subanuns. It is valued at 62½ pesos.

[a] Unhusked rice.

[b] Wherever the word "fathom" appears in this report it stands for the Subanun *kumpau* or *dɛ-pa*, the distance between the extremities of the outstretched arms. Of course it varies slightly with the individual.

The headman at whose house the foregoing fourteen varieties of jars were recorded had several specimens each of certain varieties, so that the total number in the house was about forty. He also had several buried in the forest. There are a number of headmen in the Subanun country who probably possess more jars than this chief.

The jars serve for ostentation and to hold *gasi,* the rice beer in common use among the Subanuns. The malt is placed in the bottom, water poured on, and after being left exposed to the heat of the sun for a sufficient period, the jar is brought into the house and the drink sucked out with reeds. On great festival occasions dozens of jars are used at the same time for this purpose.

INDUSTRIES

POTTERY AND BASKET MAKING

Besides the imported jars, which are usually glazed, the Subanuns use, for the humbler household purposes, earthenware of their own make. Women are the usual pottery makers. Occasionally a woman with special skill in the art gives her whole time to it, but as a rule, there are one or two women in every numerous household who understand the necessary processes and make jars as the need arises. These earthenware pots, when bartered for by outsiders, sell for double their capacity of unhusked rice. Their manufacture is simple. The clay is beaten on a board with the rice-mortar pestle; it is then made into a ball; a hole or depression is sunk in the top. The hand of the maker, holding a smooth stone, is put into this hole, which it slowly enlarges by turning it round and round against the clay, while the other hand, holding a small flat stick, shapes and smooths the clay on the outside. Very rude, simple ornamental marks are sometimes made on the outside when the shaping is finished. These marks are made with the fingers, or with the end of a stick, or with a crude wooden stamp. The pot is then placed in the sun and, when fairly dry, is put on a hot fire, usually consisting of the glowing coals left after most of the flame and smoke have passed. After baking, the pots are ready for use in holding water, boiling rice, and similar purposes. Their capacity is very variable, but is seldom more than 16 to 20 liters.

Baskets are seen everywhere in a Subanun house. The illustrations will give an idea of the commoner shapes. The work is seldom fine. The end sought is utility, and little time is spent in making them ornamental. The round, flat work baskets of the women are most likely to be finely made. These are often made of several materials of different colors, such as *nitu,* split rattan, bamboo, and sometimes wood.

The Subanuns are almost entirely an agricultural people. Hunting is a mere incident in their lives; sea fishing is exceptional; in trading they show little initiative; and their industry is confined to a very narrow range. The making of baskets and rude earthenware for household use

has already been mentioned. Their weaving and metal work remain to be considered. Their work along these lines also is confined to supplying domestic needs, and even for this purpose the output is far from sufficient.

WEAVING.

Subanun weaving, as seen in the regions visited by the writer, does not differ materially in processes from that of the neighboring Moros. The loom in the illustration (Plate XIII)—set up in the open for the sake of obtaining a clear photograph, but normally placed inside the house—shows the mechanism in use for the purpose.

The materials consist of cotton secured from Moro or Christian traders, cotton thread from the same sources, and abaka (*Musa textilis* Née) fiber of home production. The Subanun women frequently spin cotton thread with the distaff, which is made by the men; much less frequently, they use the spinning wheel. The writer is uncertain whether the spinning wheel is ever made by the Subanuns themselves. The only one seen by him had been secured by barter from Moros.

The abaka fiber is made by scraping strips of the stalk with the same rude apparatus which is used by the Christians. The fine threads are picked out by the women and woven on the loom like the cotton thread. Subanuns agree that in the old days, before contact with Christians and Moros, abaka fiber formed the material of all their clothing and sleeping coverings, and the material is still in common use for skirts for the women and sarongs used chiefly for protection against cold during the night. The strands are usually dyed before being woven. A number of them are bound together at frequent intervals by other fibers, forming bands of varying width, according to the effect desired. The whole is then dipped into the dyeing mixture and laid out to dry. The portions of the strand covered by the tightly drawn protecting covering retain the natural color of the abaka, while the remainder takes the color of the dye. If, as is sometimes the case, it is desired to have more than one artificial color in the thread, the process is repeated, protecting such portions of the threads as desired, with new bands or knots of fiber wound tightly over them at intervals. The favorite dye is red; black is also sometimes used. These dyes are as a rule made by the women from native plants, and are very durable. The use of aniline dyes has begun to spread, as it enables the women to avoid the labor of preparing the native materials. The Subanuns, however, recognize the superiority of their own dyes and still prefer them. The native dyes give a "flat" or mat color.

METAL WORKING

The Subanun metal industry is of the most primitive kind. Weapons of the finer sort, such as krises, *kampilan* and *barong*, and even spears, are almost always obtained in trade from the Moros. Many of their chopping knives (*pes*) are obtained in the same way. However, some weapons, chopping knives, and small knives for household use are made by themselves. The metal, usually iron, is in such cases obtained in trade, and worked up by the Subanun smith. The blade of the *pes* is sometimes all of iron; in other cases, the edge is of steel welded to the iron part.

The smithy is of the primitive Malayan sort. A pair of bamboo stems about a meter long, with the nodal septa save the lowest knocked out, are set up to serve as bellows. The pistons, consisting of sticks with circular pieces of wood at the ends, around which cock's feathers are closely set in a cloth covering so as to prevent the air from passing between the ends of the pistons and the bamboo, are worked up and down alternately by a boy. From the bottom of each of the two cylinders a bamboo tube runs diagonally until the two tubes meet in a third. This last runs into the fire, ending in a point of clay. The boy stands beside the two large cylinders, or arranges a rude seat for himself beside them, and moves the pistons up and down in the cylinders according to the orders of the smith.

The other instruments of labor are still more primitive. A hollowed log holds the water, while the anvil is formed of a piece of wood with a piece of iron placed on top. The iron top of an anvil which I saw at a smithy at a settlement on Sindangan Bay consisted merely of a large nail or spike beaten out flat.

At a smithy like this, the Subanun blacksmith produces chopping knives and especially the small iron knives, from 10 to 15 centimeters long, in constant requisition among the Subanuns for cutting betel nut, for starting the splitting of rattan, for general household purposes, and for reaping rice.

The smith is usually paid in rice or cloth. He enjoys considerable social consideration, and is, indeed, looked up to as a person much above the general level.

I heard of one Subanun worker in silver, who made ornaments for the women. However, such persons are very rare among these people; the ornaments of the women, like the betel boxes used by both sexes, are ordinarily acquired in trade.

TRADE

Trade has long played an important part in Subanun life, and has been a great agent of civilization. The Subanuns themselves confess that previous to the coming of the Moro they were a ruder people in every way, and used no clothing but what they made out of abaka. This trade, among the Subanuns visited by me, was, until very recent years, practically monopolized by the Moros. The Subanuns furnished mountain rice, wax, resins, and rattan, while the Moros brought cloth—the great staple of trade—weapons, knives of all dimensions, betel boxes, ornaments, and the highly prized jars of Chinese manufacture. The Subanun trade was highly esteemed by the Moros, and speaking generally, the privilege was limited to the agents of the Sultan of Magindanau and to certain datus, usually of the blood royal. This description applies especially to the trade of the Subanuns of the south coast, living from Bangawan eastward. The Subanuns from Bangawan westward and northward as far as Sindangan Bay were, about two generations ago, brought into closer relations

with the Spanish authorities at Zamboanga, who appointed a certain Alejo Alvarez, an interpreter, as agent. Under this arrangement, it is probable, although data on the subject are lacking, that a greater freedom of trade prevailed. However, under the régime of Alejo Alvarez, the *pamuku* was retained, so that these Subanuns also were obliged to purchase annually a certain amount of goods from his agents, and outsiders obtained, if allowed to trade at all, only the business that was left.

As a rule, therefore, Subanun trade was carried on under one-sided conditions. The Sultan, datus, and Alvarez fixed their respective prices on the goods, and obliged the Subanuns, through certain *timuai* or headmen, to buy a certain amount of goods annually. Much trouble and annoyance was caused to the Subanuns by the circumstance that sometimes several datus would send their agents to the same Subanun settlement, each claiming the right of *pamuku*. The writer was informed by several old Subanun men who had suffered from the conflicting claims of the datus as a result of this trouble that the Subanuns of Sindangan Bay heartily welcomed the change made in bringing them into closer relations with the Spanish authorities, as thereafter *pamuku* had to be paid but once, to the agent Alvarez. A number of Subanuns are said to have moved from the region east of Bangawan to places west of it in order to get the benefit of the new conditions.

On the withdrawal of the Spanish Government from Mindanao, the trading privileges of Sindangan Bay were taken by Datu Mandi of Zamboanga, the amounts of whose direct tribute and *pamuku* were given in the first chapter of this report. As soon as the American occupation was well established, his exclusive privileges were given up, and for two or three years Moros from many sections—from Sibugai Bay, Zamboanga, Basilan, and Sulu—flocked to Sindangan Bay to buy rice. Two years ago a market was built by the orders of the district government at Sindangan, a Filipino was appointed to take charge, standard measures were placed there, and the Subanuns told to go there to trade, and to trade for cash only. I am not informed as to the amount of business which is being transacted at the new market. It is probable that it has not as yet been in existence long enough to make a strong showing. The trading around the bay at the time of my last visit was after Mandi's privilege of *pamuku* had been dropped and before the new market had been built, and the following paragraphs describe Subanun trade around the bay at that time.

At one time during my visit there were some twenty-five boats called *sapit* at the mouths of the small rivers entering the bay. The largest number was at the mouth of the most considerable stream, the Sindangan. A Moro trader, on arriving, would blow a conch shell or beat a big gong to let the Subanuns know of his arrival. Then he would disembark, build a shelter strong enough to last a month or two, and with his men,

unload his bales of goods into these light warehouses. In some cases the Subanuns had set up these light structures beforehand for the use of traders. On landing, the leader of the trading venture would consult with the principal Subanuns of the neighborhood regarding the prospect of business. In case a good deal of delay in making up a cargo was to be expected, and such cases were common, he would draw up the *sapit* on shore, build a shelter of nipa leaves over it, and settle himself for a long stay. His place would be visited constantly by the Subanuns of the neighborhood, and he naturally would take every opportunity to tempt them to purchase. Little was ever stolen. The Subanuns bore a good reputation for honesty.

Gradually he made verbal contracts with the visitors, and these contracts were, as a rule, kept on the part of the Subanuns.[3] Day by day the wax and unhusked rice were brought in on the backs of the natives, in baskets or in sacks woven of screw-pine leaf or nipa, and measured or weighed by the Moro. At this point it was that the Moro made a considerable part of his profits. I am not in a position definitely to allege fraud in the weighing of the wax, although, as the weights were usually stones, all the probabilities are in favor of it. But regarding the measure used for the rice, there is no doubt whatever that it exceeded the size of the standard.

At Sindangan, the *ganta* that had been used for measuring rice for the *buhis* ("*ganta buhisan*") or direct tribute, I found to be one and three-fourths as large as that in use at the shops in Zamboanga; the *ganta* for measuring rice for the *pamuku* (*ganta pamukuan*) or indirect tribute was one and three-eighths as large; and the *ganta* used in ordinary trading was nearly as large as the *ganta pamukuan*. Disputes regarding the size of the *ganta*, a measure, usually made of bamboo, were not infrequent, and some headmen insisted on using a *ganta* of their own.

Another source of trouble for the Subanun was the credit system. A Moro would sell a Subanun a certain amount of goods and tell him that he could pay for it the following year. This was a great temptation to the Subanun, who would often succumb to it. As the pagan Subanuns are all illiterate, nothing was fixed in writing, and the Moro, if unscrupulous, would return the next year with demands limited only by what he thought the Subanun could stand. Accounts like this frequently ran on from year to year. It was this evil, together with the uncertainty and fraud connected with the measures, that chiefly influenced the district government in erecting markets for the Subanun trade.

The cloth, which formed the staple article furnished by the Moros, was measured by the fathom, that is, the spread of a man's arms, fractions being measured by the cubit (the distance from the elbow to the end of the middle finger) and by the palm.

[3] The great vice of the Subanun as a business man is procrastination. The high prices at which the Moros sell goods to the Subanuns are justified by the length of time it often takes to collect payment. The only remedy is to put all business on a cash basis—which is the system the Government is trying to introduce.

Considerable trading is also done between the Subanuns and Christians, but most of it is from Sindangan Bay eastward toward Misamis. At Sindangan itself a little was going on at the time of my visit, partly with Bohol (Bisaya) fishermen who exchanged fish for rice.

The Subanuns around Sindangan Bay raise no abaka to sell, nor is this culture a popular one with them in the regions to the west and south. On the other hand, those around Dapitan Bay raise quite a little of this fiber and float it down the small streams on bamboo rafts, to Dipolog, Lubungan, and other coast villages.

It is, of course, quite impossible to state definitely the total amount of Subanun trade. I was told by traders on Sindangan Bay that the average yearly amount of unhusked rice exported from the bay in an average year was about 2,500 pikuls. This figure is more probably below than above the real amount.

AGRICULTURE

Subanun agriculture in all districts which I visited is purely of the *kaingin* type; that is to say, the Subanun selects a piece of forest land, clears it, and plants his crops. After one or two harvests he abandons the ground and selects a new place, which he uses in a similar manner. This mode of cultivation requires a great area of free land and is only possible to the Subanuns because of the sparseness of the population.

Agriculture among the Subanuns is accompanied at every important step, from the selection of the ground to the harvest, by religious ceremonies, but the description of these will be left to the chapter on religion. The following paragraphs will deal only with the material phases of Subanun cultivation.

The land preferred for clearings is that covered by dense virgin forest, as such ground has a good layer of vegetable humus, and the deep shade has kept it moist. Very often a man is assisted in making a clearing, not only by his own household but by friendly neighbors, a favor which is returned. No payment is offered for such services, but custom requires the man receiving them to furnish a good meal in the evening, and if practicable, a good quantity of rice beer. Ordinarily the small trees and undergrowth are cut down and burned first, before the big trees are felled. The felling differs in method, of course, according to the size of the tree. Ordinarily they are cut down at a considerable height above the ground, platforms being raised around them for the work. The chopper or ax used is the instrument shown in the illustration. (Plate XVII, fig. 2.)

A second burning is done after the large trees are cut down. At both burnings it is very common for friends and neighbors to assist with the object of keeping the fire from burning the houses, which are sometimes in dangerous proximity to the scene of operations. Men and women are in such cases stationed on the roof with pieces of bamboo full of water, and the roof and sides are often well wet beforehand as a precautionary measure.

The length of the interval between burning and planting depends on the rains. As soon as the rains have well set in, the farmer and his whole household set

out for the clearing, the men, and often the women, bearing long and rather heavy pointed sticks, women and children following with bags or coconut shells full of seed. The ordinary procedure is, that a man walks across the field poking holes in the moist ground with a stick, while a woman or child follows after, dropping several seeds into each hole and then covering it lightly with a troweling movement of the foot. The holes will not average more than a centimeter or a centimeter and a half in depth. It is not at all unusual to plant two or more kinds of seeds in the same patch of ground. Corn, for instance, is planted here and there among the rice. The corn ripens some time before the rice, and serves to fill in the interval of from four to six months between the planting and harvesting of the latter crop. The rice, like the corn, is planted in hills, the distance between which varies from a little less to a little more than 30 centimeters.

The crop once put in, it receives no attention save weeding and keeping off wild animals and birds. The weeding is done with the ordinary working knife, the *pes*, or with a much smaller knife called the *hi-la-mon;* the thoroughness and number of repetitions of the process depend on the industry of the farmer. Ordinarily the weeding is done twice, and to keep off birds, little shelters are set up in the clearing and occupied by members of the family. The ordinary means of keeping off the birds consists of making a noise, which is produced by clappers of bamboo. A fence is frequently set up around the cleared ground to keep out wild animals, especially pigs. It often happens, however, that the cultivator satisfies himself with keeping a number of dogs at one or more of the small shelters.

The harvesting is done with little knives from 10 to 15 centimeters long. Each ear is snipped off separately, the straw being left standing. The rice is freed from the straw by rubbing and treading with the feet, on a mat. It is then winnowed, by being thrown into the air, in a light breeze, with a winnowing fan, which consists of a shallow basket or tray of woven rattan. The grain falls back into the fan, while the chaff is blown away. The rice is now ready to be stored for use. It is best to leave it a while before using, as freshly-gathered rice has the reputation of causing colic.

While rice is the main crop some millet is also planted, and a number of the vegetables common in the islands, such as squashes, peppers, tomatoes, eggplants and two or three others. Tomatoes and eggplants are small, degenerate vegetables in the Subanun country. Next to rice, *camote* is the great food crop. There is nothing especially worthy of remark in the Subanun way of raising the latter. The *camote* strips are planted in the soft, well-mulched soil that has been cleared of trees, and are practically left to themselves. The *gabi* (taro, *Colocasia antiquorum* Schott) is also fairly common. The whole plant is used for food, the leaves as greens, and the tubers eaten boiled or baked. The tuber makes a heavy, "soggy" and tasteless dish.

The sago palm is a common source of food for the Subanuns of the south coast, especially on Sibugai Bay. It is uncommon in the other districts visited by the writer. When the Subanuns run short of food, they often go into the forest, where they find various edible roots. They secure, also, the contents of the stem of a tree which may be an inferior

variety of the sago tree, as the substance resembles sago very closely; it is called by the same name, *lum-bi-a*.

The inside of the stem of this tree, usually a small one, is scraped out, put into a vat, and water poured on for hours. The vat communicates with a lower one, into which the water loaded with particles of the starchy matter flows. The water is allowed to flow out of this second vat, but slowly and through some sort of strainer, so that nearly all the starchy matter accumulates. This is dried later and made into packages wrapped in leaves. As the starchy mass ferments to a certain extent during the process, it usually has an odor repugnant to a white man's senses. The Subanuns themselves prefer rice to *lumbia*, but have recourse to the latter to tide over a pinch.

The Subanuns, besides all the foregoing, to a limited extent raise both bananas and papaws (*Carica papaya* L.) It is surprising to the traveler in their country that they do not raise more of these fruits. Both are grown with the greatest ease and rapidity. The papaw or *papaya* bears fruit within a year of the planting of the seed, and the banana, when set out as a shoot from an older tree, is said to do the same. Nevertheless, many families do not even go to the slight trouble of raising these trees. The papaw is commonly picked green and boiled as a vegetable.

The Subanuns have a good practical knowledge of plants, and in case locusts devour their crops or a drought destroys them, can tide over long periods by hunting, fishing and gathering wild edible plants and fruits.

Among the minor crops raised by the Subanuns must be mentioned tobacco, betel leaves (*Piper betle* L.) and the betel- or areca-nut (*Areca catechu* L.). The tobacco is cared for to a slight extent, some effort being made to keep out weeds and pick off worms. Generally speaking, however, it may be said that the Subanuns show no skill in the treatment of the plant. When the leaves are picked, they are hung up in the houses for a time until they are well wilted and half dried and then, if there happens to be a sufficient quantity, they are rolled into large balls, in which shape they undergo some fermentation. When this process has gone far enough the large balls are unrolled and the leaves laid away for use. Frequently joints of bamboo are used to store tobacco. The main use of the plant among the Subanuns is for chewing with betel leaves, betel-nut and lime. It is not uncommon, however, for them to roll little cigarettes with wilted banana leaves as wrappers, or still more commonly, the tender *pinnæ* of the nipa frond before it has fully opened. These *pinnæ* are dried and wrapped around a small quantity of tobacco. Occasionally, crude cigars are also made. The Subanuns of the districts which I visited seldom have any tobacco to spare for sale, and indeed, are usually rather short of the leaf for their own consumption. It is, therefore highly appreciated by them as a gift or in trade.

The graceful areca palm is highly prized for its nuts, which form an indispensable element of the Subanun's favorite materials for chewing.

It is probably due to the Subanun's frequent change of field and house that the tree is not more commonly planted by them. It is certain that the few Subanuns who do have a group of the trees, and Christian and Moro neighbors who enjoy the same advantage, find a constant and lively demand for the product. The palm requires at least four or five years growth before yielding anything. The betel vine is also raised in small quantities by the Subanuns for domestic use. It is trained usually around a tree or stump near the house. The leaves are picked off from time to time as needed.

The coconut is appreciated highly by the Subanuns, but even in the immediate neighborhood of the coast the tree is quite uncommon in the districts which I visited. This lack is partly due to the fact that the planter must wait from four to eight years—according to the variety of the nut and the local conditions—before getting a crop, a length of time which often exceeds the stay of the Subanun in one place, and partly to the fact that the Subanuns have a partiality for the hills, where the coconut is not believed to grow nearly as well as on the beach. Whenever Subanuns do have a grove of the trees, as, for instance, at Panganuran, where there are not far from five hundred of them, they are considered by their neighboring fellow-tribesmen to be in a highly enviable situation. The Subanuns have a great fondness for the nut, and they have some liking for the palm wine made of the sap, although they probably prefer rice beer. The cabbage-like top of the young tree is also highly appreciated, on the rare occasions when it is to be had.

CHAPTER III

FAMILY LIFE

CUSTOMS RELATING TO BIRTH

The Subanun of Sindangan Bay is only exceptionally born in a dwelling house. As a rule, as pregnancy becomes advanced, a special little building called *gho-si-ná* is erected, to which the expectant mother is removed when her time to be delivered is imminent. It is common to hang charms about, especially under the little house, to keep off evil spirits. In fact, superstitious beliefs play a considerable part in preparations for childbirth. For some months before the child is born, its parents subject themselves to a number of restrictions on its account. The few examples which follow will give some idea of their nature.

Neither a pregnant woman nor her husband may start to go down a ladder and turn back before reaching the ground. If this is done the birth will be a laborious one, the infant starting to be born and returning into the womb of its mother. Neither can a pot be set upon a fire, taken off, and then put on again. The same unfortunate incident would be likely to follow such an act.

Neither parent may tie anything around the neck. Subanun women frequently wear a large kerchief tied around the neck and covering the breasts. This practice is forbidden the pregnant woman. If she or her husband should tie anything around the neck, the child might be strangled by the umbilical cord.

There are certain articles of food which are tabooed to pregnant women. Among these is a certain kind of fish. It is believed that eating this fish will result in the child's being covered with eruptions.

The husband is restricted to a certain extent in his occupations. One of the things he must not do—at least, not without using some countervailing charm or formula—is tying things up, for example, the timbers of a house or its thatch. His fear is that in some way such action may result in binding the child to its mother.

The husband of the pregnant woman must, for some days before the expected event, behave in a quiet and subdued manner. The idea underlying this practice seems to be the desirability of so acting that the attention of evil spirits may not be drawn to the event.

When the time to be delivered comes a midwife is commonly sent for, if there is no woman in the family with the necessary qualifications. There are, in most Subanun neighborhoods, certain women who enjoy a reputation for their skill in assisting women in childbirth, and they are paid for their services. A prosperous Subanun on Sindangan Bay is expected to pay one of these "birth-wise"[1] women, for her services, about 6 fathoms of cloth, a chicken, and a china plate.

[1] Subanun, *pan-ăEy nEg mEg-ba-ta.*

These women, besides knowing how to manipulate the patient's body in a helpful way, give her certain simples. Unfortunately, efforts to obtain samples of these medicines proved unavailing, but the names of three sorts used by an old midwife of Nueva Reus were secured, namely *gu-lu-lu, ma-tan-sa,* and the root of the grass called *gha-ghi-mût.* In the practice of this midwife a decoction of the first was given the patient just before delivery. The *matansa* leaf is crushed between the operator's hands, and, while still moist, rubbed on the patient's abdomen during labor. The root just mentioned is boiled and the resulting liquor given the patient to drink just after delivery.

In case the birth is a difficult one, or presents some abnormality, it is believed that some evil spirit is responsible for the trouble, and a medicine man is sent for in haste. If the difficulty does not seem very grave, he chews betel-nut and rubs it, mixed with saliva, on the patient's abdomen. If no improvement follows, he decides what spirit or class of spirits is hostile and gives directions that a sacrifice be prepared, which he offers in the usual manner, with incense burning, beating a plate, and the recital of a deprecatory formula. If his patient does not improve, he decides that perhaps he made some mistake regarding the identity of the responsible spirit or spirits, and offers a sacrifice to some other supernatural being or class of beings. Occasionally he resorts to divination to learn who is responsible. By the time he has exhausted his resources, the crisis has usually passed, either by the birth taking place or the death of the patient. In the latter case he is not blamed, for the supernatural powers are not always amenable to entreaty; in the former case he departs with an increase of reputation and a fee in cloth and food and sometimes other things.

If the infant is stillborn or dies while very young it is buried without much ceremony, frequently under the house.

When the birth has taken place a painful experience still awaits the mother. This consists in her lying close to a hot fire on a hearth for a number of days. The hearth is not the one used for household purpose, but a specially constructed one called—at least in all that portion of Zamboanga Peninsula from Siari on the north coast to Bangawan on the south—*dɛ-lɛng-an.* A little platform is erected close by this special hearth, and there the mother lies, sometimes half-suffocated by the smoke, with her naked back and shoulders turned toward the fire, for several days, until the old women or the midwife think she has been roasted enough. The process is a severe one, for it is often carried to a length that seems incredible. The writer had no opportunity of observing the process while in the Sindangan Bay region, but at Siukun, between that region and Zamboanga, he saw a young woman, who had given birth ten days previously, the lower part of whose back had a severe burn covering a surface of a hundred and fifty square centimeters. The woman in question had been released two or three days previously from the severe form of the treatment, but a low fire still burned on the special hearth, and from time to time the patient still turned her back toward it. Inquiry as to the cause of the treatment brought the reply that it was intended "to dry up the womb," and so ward off dangerous fluxes.[2]

A woman during confinement and after it is kindly and considerately treated by her husband and the rest of the household according to their lights. As far as is possible to their meager resources, her fancies regarding food are humored during pregnancy, and after childbirth also an effort is made to give her such food as seems to suit her best.

The mother is not kept in the special birth house after the event has taken

[2] At Pang-Pang, Dumankilas Bay, the author was informed by Subanuns that they also were given to the same practice; their motive was "to promote discharge from the womb of materials that otherwise would make the mother sick."

place. The child is washed, by the midwife or other woman in attendance, as is also the mother and the little house, then the mother and child are conveyed to the dwelling, where the special hearth has been made ready for her.[3]

THE CHILD

It may be remarked in passing that the Subanuns nowhere in the regions which I visited seem to have any objection to having twins. One case of triplets was heard of. Neither was any marked preference for children of one sex or the other observed. There seemed to be merely a slight bias in favor of males. Male children remain with the parents and sustain them in their old age, but on the other hand, girls are necessary for doing the household work and when they are married into another family, the father or guardian gets a substantial payment from his son-in-law, and in many cases, though not always, the latter helps the father of the bride for some months before the marriage.

There is no rule regarding the length of time the child is suckled. It can only be said that it is usually longer than is generally the case among civilized people; neither does there seem to be any hard and fast rule regarding the time when the child should be named. Sometimes the parents decide on a name at once, in other cases some months or even a year or two may elapse. Even if the child has been named early, it is addressed merely as "baby," or by some pet phrase, until it is fairly well grown. There is, in most households, no special feast or celebration at the naming of a child. Chiefs sometimes invite a few relatives for the occasion and set out food and rice beer.

Of course the treatment the child receives from the parents differs according to their temperament, but in general it may be said the babies and children are treated with the utmost indulgence, and are very seldom punished. The Subanun errs by overindulgence toward them rather than by undue severity.

At some time between the age of five years and puberty, the boys, in part of the Subanun country, are circumcised. In the Siukun culture area the practice seems to be almost universal; in the Sindangan region, it seems to be rare or unknown. The operation does not appear to have any religious significance, nor is there any special feast in connection with it. It may be performed by the father, or, if he distrusts his skill, by some man in whose ability he has confidence. In case an outsider is called in for the purpose it is customary to give him a small fee or present.[4]

It is very common among the Subanuns to grind down some of the teeth.

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[3] The placenta is commonly well wrapped up and hung under the house. Sometimes it is buried at the foot of the notched log that serves as a ladder to the house. When the house is abandoned the placentæ are not removed. I have frequently seen deserted houses with the curious packages still hanging under the floor.

[4] Unfortunately the above data on circumcision among Subanuns were not based on ocular observation. Owing to the objections of the people to such observation in this matter, I could only follow what seemed to be the reliable testimony of Subanun acquaintances and friends.

At Pang Pang, Dumankilas Bay, I have, during a journey made subsequently to the writing of this report, been given detailed and apparently trustworthy information regarding a curious "proof of courage" exacted from young men in certain portions of the Subanun country. This information will appear in some notes to be published in the Philippine Journal of Science.

Those selected are ordinarily the front upper teeth, including the two canines. The effect aimed at is the sharpening of the latter and the hollowing out, on the anterior surface, of the former, so as to produce a concave appearance. After the grinding, it is a common practice to blacken the teeth operated on. One of the substances used for this purpose is lime juice or some other acid liquid in which iron has been allowed to dissolve. The resultant solution is rubbed on the surface. The grinding is done with a stone. There is no fixed period for the processes of grinding and staining, but it may be said that in general they are postponed until the patient is well grown. The grinding is sometimes done a little at a time and so spread over a considerable period.

Both girls and boys go naked for several years after birth. They frequently wear ornaments during this period, and it is not uncommon for them to wear some charm against evil spirits. Girls are generally clothed at an earlier age than boys. The dress of the little girl usually consists of a sarong or merely a piece of cloth wrapped round her as a petticoat. The boy's first clothing, on the other hand, is a loin cloth.

Children of both sexes seem to have but few games. As Subanun houses are frequently far apart, and almost never assembled in groups of any great size, games which require good-sized parties are all but absent.

The only one which I observed was football, or rather, ankle ball, which I have seen played two or three times by boys and young men. The game is not at all peculiar to the Subanuns as it is played both by Moros and Bisayas, to mention only neighbors of the tribe in question. The ball is a hollow one of rattan, which is kicked to and fro by the players. As observed among the Subanuns, the only rule seems to be the necessity of keeping the ball in the air by kicking it with the ankle, the failure to do this bringing out good-natured ridicule and laughter from the other players. The reason for hitting the ball with the ankle instead of the foot is of course obvious. A barefoot person can deal a much smarter and more effective blow with the ankle than with the soft, yielding foot.

Besides the ball, Subanun children sometimes use a little bow and arrow in play.[5] The adult Subanun does not use the bow as a weapon.[6]

No toys were observed in the hands of the girls, although they may exist. The girls seem to get most of their fun by imitating the older women of the house in their duties, while the mother instinct is exercised by looking after the babies. Even little girls spend much time in weaving mats, making baskets, tending the fire and bringing water, and do not seem to find these occupations irksome. Together with the little boys, they even help in the planting, following after some older person who pokes holes in the ground with a stick, the children dropping grains of seed into them out of a coconut shell or a calabash.

Among the Subanuns there is no such institution as the girls' house or the bachelors' house of the Bontok Igorots. In the absence of communal or even ordinary village life, the interests of the Subanun are

[5] Plate XXI.

[6] Blow-guns are occasionally used in the Sindangan Bay region, especially by boys.

concentrated in his own house, where old and young live in constant companionship. Even at the great dancing feasts, the children take part with their parents. The guests bring with them their entire families, from the little wheat-colored babies up, and the children are not prevented from drinking as much rice beer as they like.

As may be inferred from the description of a Subanun house given in an earlier chapter, there is practically no privacy in a Subanun dwelling. The vast majority of Subanun houses consist practically of one large room, in which from one to half a dozen married couples and their children sleep. The young people are, therefore, early initiated into a knowledge of the facts of sexual life. It does not appear that they are any the worse for it. It may confidently be stated of the Subanuns of Sindangan Bay that a want of chastity is a rare exception. The girls, from the age of puberty until they have been married and had their first child, wear a sarong or a petticoat, and a large kerchief tied around the neck, covering the breasts, and tucked under the petticoat in front. While taking a bath—which is sometimes done in the house—and in the course of their household labors, nearly the whole person is frequently exposed, but it is all taken as a matter of course and attracts no attention.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

As the children grow toward maturity the idea of their marriage preoccupies the parents' minds. Sometimes Subanun parents make an informal agreement for the marriage of their young children when the latter shall have grown up, but no actual marriage takes place before puberty, nor are such informal agreements pressed, as a rule, if the young people in question are strongly opposed to the matches made for them during their childhood. Marriage, in the case of young men, is often deferred for years after puberty because of lack of means to make the marriage payment. On the other hand, a girl may be married at any time when she is physically fit for it, as there is no such obstacle in her path.

The Subanun process of getting a wife presents no original and striking features. As among many other peoples, the affair is managed by go-betweens. There is much mingling of the sexes among these people, and a young man has frequent opportunities for seeing and judging any young women that may live in the neighborhood. The great dancing feasts, called *buklug,* offer especially good opportunities for getting acquainted. It is common for the young man to make his own choice, although there is no lack of instances in which the initiative is taken by his parents. In either case, when the girl has been decided on, the young man's father appoints one and sometimes two representatives, who go to the girl's house and gradually and in a guarded away approach the subject in mind with the father or guardian. The

latter replies in the same cautious and dignified manner, and it depends on the general tenor of his replies whether the negotiations be dropped or continued. In the latter case, the young man's representatives return to the charge within a few days, but without betraying any unseemly eagerness. This time they bring a ring, made of silver or gold if possible, and wrapped in a kerchief, preferably of fine material. If the suit is favorably received, these gifts are accepted; if not, their acceptance is evaded, but without giving a direct and categorical refusal. The writer was informed by a chief of the Sindangan Bay region that a favorite way to give a refusal without giving offense was by the girl's setting a good meal, together with rice beer, before the go-betweens. This action, accompanied by a few words of apology, was, according to the informant's statement, taken as a propitiatory act, and the refusal was understood from it without the necessity of offering the ring and having it flatly refused. If, however, the ring and kerchief are accepted, the real negotiations have no more than begun. The match has only been accepted in principle; all the important details have yet to be worked out. As both sides have now committed themselves, they proceed much more openly and frankly in the remaining conferences. The elder men of both families, and usually a headman or two, now get together and with pebbles or grains of corn to help in reckoning, and incessant appeals to custom on both sides, proceed to haggle with more or less good nature over the amount which the young man must pay the father of the girl. This process of settling the amount of the marriage payment was personally witnessed by me only in the Sindangan Bay region, so that the following details are given for that locality only.

The settling of the amount to be paid is not so simple as may be supposed. The complexity arises partly from the fact that the payment is not made in money, but in two or three kinds of goods, the value of which is reckoned in what seems to an outsider a very inconvenient way. The value of jars, gongs, cloth, etc., is reckoned by *kumpau*, but a distinction is made between *kum-pau ma-ta-gas* and *kum-pau ma-li-nut*. One of the former is reckoned as twice the value of one of the latter, and is only used in measuring the value of durable things, such as gongs, jars, and brass ware, while the *kum-pau ma-li-nut* is used to measure cloth and other relatively perishable goods. The *kum-pau* of cloth is a piece as long as the spread of a man's arms, while a *kum-pau* of brass trays, for example, is an amount of trays worth cloth of a length twice that of the spread of a man's arms. The writer was informed by an old datu of the family of the Princes of Sibugai that *kum-pau* was originally the name of a certain kind of cloth formerly imported from China, and frequently used as currency in Mindanao. This statement seems to be confirmed by Capt. Thomas Forrest, writing in 1776, who mentions "Kompow, white strong linen" as part of "the usual cargo" of junks going from Amoy to Sulu. Whatever the origin of the term, it is now, on Sindangan Bay, merely a measure of value.

Matters are further complicated by the fact that the jars used in part payment—for it is usual to include at least some jars in transactions of this character—are not necessarily reckoned at what they would actually bring in

trade. On Sindangan Bay, the value of certain kinds of jars has become conventionalized, and it is the conventional and not the real value that is reckoned on these occasions. There are one or two other conventions that obtain in these transactions and add to their difficulty. Morever, great age adds to the value of jars, and the extent of the accruing value has to be determined in the course of the conference.

Finally, the son of a headman is expected to pay more than a common man, often double the amount, in fact, and the daughter of a headman is expected to fetch more than a common girl. Sometimes there are also the factors of personal attractions on the part of the girl, some conspicuous defect on the part of the young man, and other variable quantities such as may readily be imagined. The consequence of all these complications is that it frequently takes several long conferences to decide what at first sight seems a simple matter. When everything has been arranged, the principal men who took part in making the settlement, as well as the go-betweens, are given substantial presents which come out of the amount paid by the young man for his wife.

Whether the marriage payment is given all at once, or in installments before and after marriage, depends of course on the wishes of the interested parties. However, there is a strong tendency to insist on all being paid in before the marriage, as afterwards the parents of the girl would find themselves at a great disadvantage in case the groom's family showed a disposition to procrastinate, or to repudiate the agreement altogether.

The marriage ceremony usually takes place very soon after the payment has been made. It is accompanied by some feasting and drinking, the extent of which depends on the prosperity of the two families. No priest is necessary, although one is usually present and sometimes invokes the blessings of the spirits on the young couple. The essential feature of the occasion is the witnessing, by responsible persons of the neighborhood, especially the local chiefs or subchiefs, of the fact that the couple are married. As a symbol of the union, the young people eat together, and give each other a morsel of rice, which act is usually hailed by the others present with shouts and beating of gongs. The ceremony takes place at the bride's house; if the persons concerned are prosperous, a second feast is often given afterwards at the groom's dwelling, but it is said that the first two nights the groom sleeps at his wife's house. After this the bride is taken to the groom's home, which is usually that of his father. It is quite exceptional for the groom to have a house of his own ready immediately after the marriage.

It was reported to me, although I will not vouch for the truth of the statement, that the groom returns to the home of his parents-in-law to pass a few days, from time to time during the first few months of his marriage, "to show his respect." [7] Parents-in-law are treated with great

[7] During a recent collecting tour on Sindangan Bay, subsequent to the writing of this report, I was able to secure clearer information on the points treated in this paragraph. During the "two nights" mentioned, the bride-groom can not use his marital rights. After these two nights the groom takes his wife to his own home, where they remain four days. Then the groom returns to his father-in-law's house for three days. These two visits are all that the young husband is obliged by custom to make to his father-in-law.

respect by Subanuns. It is not proper for a son- or daughter-in-law to mention the mother or father of the wife or husband by name.

Polygamy is universally allowed by the Subanuns of the regions which I visited, though it is far from being universally practiced. A prosperous man frequently has two wives, and sometimes three or four. The writer could not learn of any necessary limit in this matter save the factor of expense and considerations of household harmony. He knows of only two men on Sindangan Bay who have as many as four.

The Subanun of Sindangan Bay, at least, is allowed to marry almost any woman not too nearly related to him. No degree of kinship more remote than first cousinship is considered a bar, and it has been seen that even first cousins can marry on paying a fine. A man can not marry his stepdaughter, or a woman her stepson, but stepdaughters and sons of the same family can marry. A man may marry his wife's female relatives, except her aunt. It is not very uncommon for a man to marry two girls who are sisters. The writer knows of two such cases in the Sindangan Bay region.

A more singular feature of marriage customs in this region is, that a man may marry his widowed or divorced mother-in-law, even during the lifetime of her daughter. I know one headman in the Sindangan Bay region who has four wives, of whom two are sisters and a third is their mother. However, I was informed by one or two headmen of this region that this custom is hardly regarded with favor, and is dying out.

It is very common for a man to marry his brother's widow. She has already been paid for, and no payment is made to her parents by the new husband, or only a nominal one. Widows and divorced women bring a less sum than maidens. The amount depends on their reputation and degree of good looks.

I was informed by certain chiefs that polyandry, in the form of two men, too poor to be able to pay for a wife apiece having one between them, occurs sometimes among the more interior and backward Subanuns, but I by no means vouch for the truth of the statement. In this connection it may be worth while to remark that in the first decade of the seventeenth century Chirino mentioned in his "Relación de las Islas Filipinas" the existence of polyandry in the Dapitan region.

It may not be out of place, on taking leave of the subject of marriage among the Subanuns, to set down a few observations of a general nature. Subanun marriages are marriages of convenience. A strong, overmastering preference for mating with some one person rather than another is a rare phenomenon, if indeed it occurs at all among these people. Lack of development involves lack of differentiation; there is therefore a great uniformity or at least similarity of type among the Subanuns, with consequent lack of those salient characteristics that make one person decidedly more attractive or repellent than another. The same want of

civilization or development involves slightness of sexual differentiation, with consequent feebleness of the fascination or glamour born of the sexual antithesis. A glance at a series of photographs of Subanuns will show a number of faces of men who might almost be taken for women, and in many other portraits, although the sex may not appear at all in doubt, the lack of strongly marked masculine or feminine characters in features and expression is quite noticeable. It would be an exaggeration to say that Subanun men and women differ only in their sexual organization, but it is quite true that they are poor in those secondary sexual characters, of mind and body, which add so much charm and subtlety to the attraction of one sex for the other among highly developed peoples.

The "psychological novelist" would find very scanty material in the thoughts and feelings of a Subanun young man toward the woman he wishes to make his mate. The young man, indeed, can not be said to "be in love" at all, unless all the subtler connotations which that term has in our language be ignored. Nor would it be an accurate statement to say that he is actuated only by "lust"—with the connotation of irresponsibility and bestiality carried by that word. The motives that impel him are really three—the physical need of a companion of the opposite sex, the instinct for perpetuating or prolonging himself in children, and the need of a woman to do certain labor, such as cooking and sewing, which he needs to have done and she can do better than he. One young woman of his tribe can satisfy these elementary needs almost as well as another, and he is not likely to pass through much emotional misery if the first girl whom he thought of in this connection should prove unattainable because her father demands more jars and gongs for her than his father can scrape together. On the other hand, when the marriage takes place, the very simplicity and stability of the reasons that prompted the union are a good augury of its permanence. If any additional force making for stability and permanence were needed, it is supplied by the marriage payment, which will not be returned to the husband if he repudiates his wife without what seems to his headman good and sufficient reason. Hence it is that relations between the sexes are, among the Subanuns, as far as possible from savoring of license or instability. Married life among these people is devoid of subtlety or charm, but it is cheerful, stable, and sound.

DIVORCE

Divorce is allowed by the Subanuns. It is necessary, however, to bring the matter before the local chief or chiefs, to show cause and to settle terms. In case one party or the other wishes a divorce, but can show no wrongdoing on the part of the other, the action is penalized by headmen in order to discourage it, but is not absolutely forbidden. The woman's parents, in such a case, would have to return to the groom's family the amount of the marriage payment, while in case it is the husband who, without just cause, repudiates his wife, he loses the amount he paid for her. If the woman, however, has, in the judgment of the headmen, given solid ground for divorce, her parents must return the marriage payment to the groom's family. The woman, on the other hand, can get a divorce for such causes as extreme cruelty, persistent failure to provide, and the like, without her parents being penalized.

On the whole, it may be said that questions of interest very effectively discourage frivolous and hasty divorces.

In case a couple is divorced after children have been born, the headmen decide which parent shall have them.

However, I was informed that the natural inclination of the children is not ordinarily interfered with in this matter. Unweaned infants naturally go with the mother.

DEATH AND BURIAL

When the medicine man has sacrificed and prayed in vain, and the malevolent spirits have caused the death of a Subanun, especially if the deceased is an adult, for a few moments the house is filled with a weird wail lifted by the women of the family. A messenger is sent to inform the local headman of the event, and preparations are begun for the funeral. Subanuns do not like to keep a corpse in the house, and if there is time to make all the necessary preparations before sunset, the body is buried on the day of death. So far Subanuns of the various regions visited by me act alike, but funeral customs differ in details from one district to another, and it is to be noted that the funeral about to be described, the only one which I had the fortune to witness, took place at Siukun, about 60 kilometers up the west coast from Zamboanga.

The dead person in question was a boy of about 12 years. At the time when I arrived at the house I found some two or three dozen friends and relatives already there. Food and rice beer were placed before the visitors, but the people of the household neither ate nor drank. I was told that it was not customary for them to do so until after the funeral. The boy had died during the previous night, and since early morning two or three men had been laboring on a coffin. This consisted of a thick log, split in two by wedges, and then hollowed out. Within the house, a little food had been placed beside the corpse. An old woman, who was something of a shaman, burned incense, beat on a bowl, and murmured something which I could not understand. Then she killed a cock, and touched all the posts in the room, the foot of every person present, and two bags of seed rice, with a feather dipped in its blood, "to take away evil," presumably from being in the neighborhood of a dead body. When this had been done, the old woman wrapped the corpse in white cloth, the coffin was brought into the house, and the body lifted into it, a plate and one or two other useful articles being placed in the coffin with it. On fitting the two halves of the coffin together, certain leaves, which were said to be sticky and to help seal the coffin, were placed between the edges. The two halves were then very strongly bound with stout strips of rattan, the binding being wound about the wood many times, and tightly drawn. Then the coffin was borne out of the house by young men. As the coffin went out, the old woman took a coconut shell full of water and sprinkled the floor in the path taken by the bearers, after doing which she threw the shell out of the house as hard as she could.

The little group of coffin bearers, followed by no one save myself, took its way briskly but quietly to a grove about half a mile away. This proved to be a Subanun cemetery, the graves being planted here and there among the great trees. Remains were to be seen of shelters that had been raised over the graves, and here and there coffins were observed that had opened and tilted out skulls

and other bones. The graves appeared to have been quite shallow, and it is more than likely that wild pigs had been rooting about the place. Reaching a little space unencumbered with graves, the men set down their burden, and bending their backs, spaded the soft, damp soil with their working knives, scooping away the earth with their hands. From time to time the pale roots of trees and vines appeared, and were slashed away with the knives. The men worked fast, and a shallow trench was soon scooped out. But the coffin was not set down in it at once. Before doing so the men carefully planted sticks in such a way at the ends and sides that the earth would nowhere touch the bottom or sides of the coffin. Then the latter was lowered, resting entirely on the sticks, and was covered with more sticks, and handfuls of leaves, so that the earth should not touch its top. The loose dirt was thrown on top of all, forming a little mound. Over this a rude shelter of branches was built, a few plants were set in the ground around the grave, and the men left the place, apparently somewhat relieved at getting away from it. On the way home a slight detour was made to pass a river, and every man bathed himself. The Subanuns are not a very cleanly people and this action tended to confirm the information given to me, that Subanuns always bathe after performing a burial. On reaching home the men were given something to eat, and the funeral was over.

The *timala* and *polontuñ* ceremonies, which on Sindangan Bay follow a funeral, have been described elsewhere in this report. Throughout the Subanun country which I visited the same or similar ceremonies are performed, although it is more than likely that they differ in details in various localities.

I witnessed several ceremonies following deaths in the Sindangan region, but I saw no burials there, nor was it easy to secure information from the people regarding burial places. Some even showed a dislike to talking about burial customs, perhaps as being something of ill omen. It was stated to me that in the Sindangan country there were no fixed and relatively extensive burial places, like that seen at Siukun, but that the dead were buried somewhere in the neighborhood of their houses. I do not vouch for the truth of these statements. The statement was also given me by a Sindangan River chief that a long time ago children were sometimes buried in jars. I accidentally passed two graves of infants under a house on Sindangan Bay, but no one could be induced to take me purposely to any burial place.

The numerous abandoned burial caves and rock shelves evidently used formerly by Subanuns, which I found a little to the northeastward of the Sindangan Bay region, have been described briefly in a previous chapter of this report.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CONTROL

The statements in this chapter apply to conditions existing before the organization of the Moro Province in the year 1904. Since the establishment of that province, the laws passed by its legislative council have brought the Sabanuns within its boundaries under government from outside to an extent never before approached, and have greatly modified the machinery of social control among them. Again, the statements made in this chapter are laid down with an eye solely to the district around Sindangan Bay. It is believed that the power of the headmen and the provisions of the customary law which they executed bore a general resemblance throughout the Subanun country, but as differences of detail probably existed in the various regions, clearness and accuracy will be the gainers if the scope of the description is confined to the conditions prevailing in the region around this bay.

THE CHIEFTAINCY

As far as can be learned, there never existed any large political units among the Subanuns, far less any union of the whole tribe. Perhaps the nearest approach to the formation of a large unit took place about forty years ago, and appears to have been due to Spanish suggestion. At that time, according to the testimony of old headmen of the Sindangan region, an agent of the Spanish Government, Alejo Alvarez, set up a certain headman named Sumusa as the war chief of all the Subanuns around the bay. On the approach of a raiding party of Lanau Moros, he had authority to summon all the Subanuns around the bay to resist them. After Sumusa's death he was succeeded by a nephew, who in turn was followed by a chief now residing on the banks of the Peyó [1] river. On the approach of a raiding party the war chief, who bore the ambitious title of "Lajah Gunum" would send messengers to all the headmen of the region, bearing strips of rattan tied in knots whose number indicated the number of days which were to elapse before the date of the rendezvous, and all the chiefs, after concealing their valuable effects, would gather their young men together and present themselves at

[1] The name of this river is also pronounced Piyaú.

the place appointed, which was ordinarily some easily defensible hill. Sometimes by the chief headman's order, the women and children also would be gathered in the stronghold, at other times he would recommend that they conceal themselves in the mountains or stay at home, according to circumstances, but when the time of stress was passed, the war chief lost his paramount authority and became a mere local chief like the rest.

This war chief controlled the largest number of Subanuns of any Subanun authority within my knowledge. He had under his orders, during the exercise of his special functions, perhaps some 3,500 or 4,000 persons, while the ordinary Subanun headman rarely had more than a few hundred.

It is proposed to write a few paragraphs regarding the rule of these ordinary headmen, having in mind throughout, as stated above, the conditions obtaining around Sindangan Bay.

The headman was known as *ti-mu-ai*. This word, by the way, is found in the old native chronicles of Sulu, and is there applied to the pagan chiefs in that island before its conversion to Mohammedanism. The office ran in families, but did not ordinarily pass directly from father to son. It was more usual for it to pass from the late holder to his brother. The reason for this seems to have been that it was believed that a *timuai* should be a man of sense and experience, and a brother of a deceased chief was more likely to fulfill these conditions than a son, who was usually a younger person. Indeed, the office of the *timuai* was, in a sense, elective. He had practically no means of making his decisions respected but public opinion and the backing of his relatives, so that it was useless for a man to set himself up as a headman if the people did not want him. There was usually no formal election, but the ruling headman ordinarily associated with himself, in the exercise of his functions, the man whom he wished to succeed him, so that at the death of the older man the transition to the rule of the younger one was easy and natural. If the leading men, especially the elders of the region, vigorously objected, even the preference of the late headman was overruled, and some other man—almost always related to the late headman—was chosen. Before the coming of the American régime, the consent of the agent of the Spanish Government, Alejo Alvarez, is said to have been necessary, and still earlier, that of the princes of Sibugai of the house of the Sultans of Magindanau. This consent, however, was usually a mere form, as the Spanish or Moro overlord cared little as to who the headmen were, provided they paid the tribute.

It will readily be inferred from the above that the power of the headman was quite limited. It was rarely possible for him to commit any great abuses. If he showed himself to be harsher in his punishments than the community believed was allowable under the unwritten but universally recognized law, namely, custom, he found his followers drifting away from him; this occurred by the simple process of their going into another district and placing themselves under the orders of another headman. It is, indeed, surprising that the headmen exerted as much authority as they did. It was due to the Subanun's profound reverence for custom and his dislike of the alternative of obedience, namely, running

away from his kinsmen, that they could punish crime by levying fines, as they undoubtedly did.

The headman was assisted by a number of men who acted as his lieutenants in outlying parts of the region under his jurisdiction and joined with him as assessors at the trial of important cases. These men were ordinarily elders esteemed for their good sense and knowledge of local custom, and were known as *saliling* (deputy), or *masalag tau* (big or important man). It was not unusual for a Subanun headman to be dubbed *panglima,* despite the inappropriateness of the term, and sometimes, *capitán.* All the important men, including the headmen, were referred to collectively as the *bė-gė-lál.*

The office of headman was no sinecure. Indeed, not a few Subanuns considered it to be more trouble than it was worth, and there was generally no eagerness to get it. He was held responsible by the Spanish agent Alvarez, and before him, by the Moro datus and princes, for the tributes of his locality, which he was expected to apportion among the ordinary Subanuns. Neither Moro nor Spanish authorities cared to follow up the ordinary Subanuns, scattered as the latter were in the depths of mountain and forest. It was, on the other hand, comparatively easy to lay hold of a few headmen, whose location was well known, and whose houses and other property could be destroyed or levied upon. Therefore, each of the half dozen leading headmen of the bay region was told how much his settlement was to pay, and the trouble and odium of making the collection were left to him. Similarly, when Subanuns were wanted for special services by the datus or princes, or the Spanish Government pressed the Subanuns to be baptized by the Christian missionaries, pressure was brought to bear on the headmen.

Such services as the above, while probably the most irksome, were not the commonest. The headman's routine duties consisted in the allaying of disputes, the settling of marriage portions and the trying of trespasses against the customary law. In most matters the Subanun authorities were given a free hand by their Moro overlords, and later, by the Spaniards.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE—TRIALS

Trials among the Subanuns, like all other public business, were conducted by *bichara* or conference. The interested parties would go to the headman's house either of their own motion or on receipt of a summons, where they would be assigned a mat on which to sit, and would be passed the betel-box. There was no appearance of unseemly haste. Ordinarily all concerned would chew for some moments in silence before they proceeded to business. Then one or the other would start the argument, either personally or by deputy, and talk almost interminably, with endless repetitions, trying to convince the headman that custom was on his side. If the case was important, the headman

would send out for the most influential men of the region to assist him. The Subanuns enjoy argument, both as speakers and as listeners, and a debate is often spun out for hours and frequently taken up again at intervals for weeks in succession. On the whole, though, despite the morass of words in which the trial sometimes seemed embogged, the final decision, laid down by the headman with the concurrence of his assistants, was, if I may be allowed to judge from one or two trials which I witnessed, almost sure to be a fair one, and the chances of its being carried into effect good. A usual precaution was to have both sides deposit beforehand some valuable possessions, such as gongs or old jars, which pledges the person who was fined could get back only by complying with the decision of the court.

A trial of importance usually attracted a number of common people of the neighborhood to the house. These common people ordinarily let the older and more influential men manage the trial, but if they had anything to say there was nothing to prevent them from taking part in the proceedings. The Subanun, however, is very sensitive to ridicule, and has a keener sense of personal dignity than his rude culture might lead one to expect, so that he hesitates to express his opinions in the presence of the old and influential unless invited to do so, for fear of being ridiculed or otherwise adversely criticized by his fellows as a busybody.

It was not necessary to take a case to the headman himself. Many small disputes were settled by the lieutenants or subheadmen. These subchiefs, however, seldom attempted the decision of any really important case by themselves, as it was generally understood that in such instances more influence than theirs was necessary to insure the carrying out of the decision; besides, as the losing party in a suit was almost sure to appeal to the headman in the end, it did not seem worth while to the subheadman to trouble himself about the matter until he was called on by his *timuai* to sit as one of the assessors in the trial of the case.

FINES AND PENALTIES

Subanun justice was cheap. The only emolument of the headman was a share of the fine, the injured party usually getting all the rest of it. The headman was expected to share the judges' part with the men who assisted him in the trial. It would appear at first sight as if chiefs would be disposed to levy excessive fines, since they enjoyed a part of the proceeds. As a matter of fact their power was too limited, and the traditional amount of the fines too well known, to allow them to indulge to any great extent, if at all, in this abuse.

Theoretically, it was admitted, since the firm establishment of the Spanish overlordship of the Sindangan Bay Subanuns, that an appeal could be taken to the Spanish agent; during an earlier period, if hearsay

may be trusted, the Moro overlords were sometimes made the recipients of appeals. This meant for the litigants added delay and expense and was resorted to probably only rarely. Jurisdiction in murder cases was claimed by the datus—who demanded the *bangun* or blood-money—and probably by the Spaniards, but it is safe to say that the great majority of cases were decided by the Subanun headmen and their assistants.

The penalty prescribed by Subanun custom for almost every crime save fratricide, infanticide, and incest, which were punished by death, was a fine, the amount of which varied with the gravity of the offense and the ability to pay of the offender. Stocks are in use among the tribe, but as far I can judge from the only case in which I saw them in use, and from hearsay, their employment was to restrain dangerously insane persons. Putting in the stocks was not prescribed by Sindangan Bay custom for any other cause as far as I could learn.

The amount of the fines levied for various offenses will probably be found to have varied somewhat from region to region. It differed somewhat, also, because of the differences of temper and power of the various headmen, and, more especially, on account of the aggravating or extenuating circumstances existing in each case. Such circumstances were carefully considered by Subanun judges, and received full weight in passing judgment. The amounts of the fines to be mentioned in the following paragraphs are taken from the practice of Headmen Andus and Mandí of the Sindangan River, and Libulun of the Peyó, and represent the ordinary weight of the fines, when the offenses punished were neither mitigated nor aggravated by attendant circumstances, and the culprits were of average ability to pay.

An adulterer was fined about 215 meters of cotton cloth, and the adulteress about 150. Of this fine the injured husband kept one half and the headman or headmen who tried the case the other half. In the days of subjection to the Moros the Prince of Sibugai or some datu of his family sometimes tried Subanun adultery cases. When this was the case the judge's half of the fine went to him.

If the adulterer or adulteress was unable to pay the fine, he or she went into debt-slavery to the datu or the headman. Theoretically three years' labor sufficed to pay off the fine, but the tendency was, when once in bondage, to stay in it. An adulterer could be killed at once if caught in the act by the injured husband. But if the husband allowed the opportunity to escape, he could not follow up the man and kill him; the adjustment of the matter then lay in the hands of a headman or a datu.

Even when caught in the act of adultery, the woman was not allowed to be killed with impunity. The husband could wound at the time, but if he killed her he was liable to light punishment. In this case also, if he let the opportunity slip, he could not do her bodily harm later. Her parents returned the marriage payment made for her, and she became a slave. Under the Moro régime it is said that she used to become the slave of the Prince of Sibugai.

The penalty for rape was also a fine of about 370 meters of cloth. The father of the girl could kill the offender at once if the latter was caught in the act, but

could not follow him up afterwards if he let the opportunity slip. Fornication was punished by an equal fine, divided equally between the guilty parties. This was the theory, but the old men say that this penalty, tremendous from the Subanun standpoint, was avoided by the marriage of the guilty persons. Even then, however, the couple were mulcted in a certain amount. Indeed, whenever a man and woman, instead of having their marriage arranged in the ordinary way—that is, through go-betweens—presented themselves directly to their headman and said that they wished to marry, the groom had to pay 6 fathoms of cotton cloth to the headman, 30 fathoms to the parents of the girl, and give something to a medicine man. The presumption was, in such cases, that the couple had been unduly intimate or they would not take so precipitate and unusual a way of getting married. In ordinary marriages, nothing was paid to a priest.

Incest between father and daughter or brother and sister was punished by tying the man's hands, putting him into a wickerwork basket or a fish trap loaded with stones, and throwing him into the sea or a river. To let him off was believed to bring a great calamity, such as drought or locusts, on the whole community. The woman in the case was reduced to perpetual slavery.

Constructive incest between a man and his stepdaughter was punished with a fine of about 370 meters of cloth, of which the girl had to pay five-twelfths and the man the rest. This fine was divided equally between the Prince of Sibugai or his agent, and the local *timuai*. The alternative of payment was slavery.

It was considered wrong for first cousins to marry, yet it was allowed on the payment, by the groom, of a fine to the local *timuai* and a payment to a priest, who performed a ceremony presumably intended to counteract the evil influence arising from such an alliance. When the man in the case was the son of a *timuai*, he paid—for division between the priest and the local *timuai*—about 30 fathoms of cloth on his own account, and half that amount on behalf of the girl. If the interested parties were plebeians, the man had to pay only 30 fathoms of cloth, or its equivalent, in all.

The above fine was applicable in most cases that arose of first cousins marrying each other. There was, however, a case in which the penalties were heavier, as the irregularity was considered greater. Suppose A and B were brother and sister respectively, and that A had a son "a" and B had a daughter "b." If "a" and "b" wished to marry they could do so, but only by paying a larger fine than that just spoken of, for the repetition of sex in A and "a" and in B and "b" was felt in some way to make the marriage between the young people more undesirable. The fine in this case was 30 fathoms of cloth if the interested parties were plebeians, but 60 fathoms if they were of *timuai* family.

Another fine imposed for what were considered not criminal but yet improper sexual relations was that imposed on a young man who, after being admitted into a family on a familiar footing, should use his opportunities to make love to a daughter of the household and finally marry her. He was fined 6 fathoms of cloth.

It is said that parricide under the Moro régime used to be punished by levying a fine of 200 fathoms of cloth and then turning the guilty man over to the Prince of Sibugai, who used to arm him and use him as one of his bravoes.

Not only actual illicit sexual intercourse but improper advances were severely punished by the Subanuns. An actual case which was tried a few years ago by the late Timuai Andus of the Sindangan River will illustrate this. In the course of a *buklug* festival at Kalakol, one of the men present, being somewhat befuddled with rice beer, made an improper proposal to an unmarried woman in the course

of the night. The girl rejected it, and seized his turban or head-kerchief. As scores and perhaps hundreds of persons were in the building, as is usual during a *buklug*, he dared not try to get it back lest he should awaken some of the sleepers and draw their attention to himself. The next day, on the girl's making complaint to the headmen present, the latter took up the matter and identified the guilty person by his turban. The man was fined some 35 fathoms of cloth, which was divided between the headmen who tried the case and the girl.

Stealing was punished by a fine, usually two or three times the value of the object stolen. The loser had his property restored to him, with something additional, while what was left over of the fine went to the headman and his assistants who tried the case.

Brawls and wounding were punished by fines which varied with the circumstances.

It remains to be remarked that the headmen made an attempt to make the punishment fit not only the crime but the offender. While the few amounts mentioned in the preceding paragraphs represent the average weight of the fines that were imposed on a Subanun, a notoriously rich man would be mulcted in a larger amount, and the very poor man in a less. The headmen felt that there was no use in levying fines which, owing to the poverty of the guilty person, could never be collected. Such a course would only serve to make him desperate and cause him to abandon his headman, neighbors and relatives, and to run away into some remote region under the rule of another headman.

An exception to this principle was the treatment of those guilty of especially abhorred crimes, such as adultery. Such offenders received scant consideration. Slavery, or death at the hands of the injured person and his relatives, which were the alternatives to the payment of the fine levied, were not considered as too severe punishment.

At first sight it may appear to have been difficult to keep a Subanun in slavery, owing to the many opportunities afforded for his escape under conditions obtaining in the Subanun country. This difficulty, however, was surmounted, under the Moro régime, by turning the guilty person over to an agent of the Prince of Sibugai, who forthwith tore him away from his country; and even after the Moro régime had passed, by selling the man to Moro traders.

Nonpayment of debts was met by ordering the debtor to work out the amount due. The case, however, does not appear to have been a common one among the Subanuns. Their commercial transactions were mainly not among themselves, but with outsiders—Moros before the time of Alejo Alvarez, and Moros and Christians since then. According to the general testimony of the old men, the Moros, during their supremacy over the bay, did not allow the Subanuns to trade by sea, as the datus wished to monopolize Subanun commerce. The trade of the Subanuns among themselves, overland, amounted to practically nothing, as everybody had the same things, namely, agricultural products, and there was no motive for exchange. The only way that seems to have been at all common in which one Subanun ran into debt to another was by borrowing cloth and jars from a well-to-do man, usually a headman, for the purpose of making a marriage payment. However, if the statement made to me by headmen of the Sindangan River may be trusted, the headmen, in case of manifest poverty on the part of the groom, used their influence with the parents of the girl to have the payment made smaller that usual, so that the young man should not be burdened with a greater debt that he could work off in a year or two. Whatever the causes, it is certain that debt-slavery was rare among the Subanuns of the bay.

MORO CONTROL OF THE SUBANUNS

The above paragraphs deal with social control as exercised by the Subanuns themselves. It took the form of the levying of fines by the headmen, whose power was so moderate as to discourage its abuse. However, in addition to control by their own headmen, the Subanuns were subject to control by outsiders, who during the greater part of the last three centuries have been Moros. It appears from the statements of the old men of the bay region that the Moro datus did not as a rule interfere in the internal affairs of the Subanuns; the *bangun* or blood-money they claimed, and those guilty of one or two heinous crimes were reduced to slavery. On the other hand, disputes between Moros and Subanuns, arising generally out of trading and tributary relations, were settled by the Moro authorities, and the decisions appear often to have impressed the Subanuns as grossly unfair, and to have given rise to much bad feeling.

There is no doubt but that the Subanuns, because of their slighter civilization and especially because they were pagans, were despised by the Moros and regarded as legitimate prey. The religion of the Moros inculcates the legitimacy and even the duty of levying tribute on unbelievers, and the Moros carried out instructions so convenient to themselves. If the old Subanun headmen are to be believed—and their independent statements, taken down at various times and places, agree well—the Moro datus not only monopolized trade, compelling the Subanuns to buy exclusively of them or their agents, but imposed certain gratuitously humiliating conditions on their tributaries. It is said, for example, that no Subanun was allowed to carry a parasol or umbrella, or to wear silk, or to wear a decent turban, or to possess a good gong. No Subanuns save a few favored headmen could wear a kris, and it is said that even those who were allowed to have krises were not permitted to wear them in the same fashion as Moros. At any interview, also, between a Subanun, of whatever rank, and a datu, the former had to adopt an attitude indicating his inferiority. The datus and their representatives, during their journeys, are said to have made free with whatever Subanun property they needed, such as chickens, rice, etc., and to have confiscated any of the forbidden articles that they found in Subanun houses, besides levying a fine; while any real or supposed lack of respect and submissiveness on the part of the tributaries was also considered sufficient reason for levying a heavy fine, dealing a blow, or even reducing the offender to slavery. On special occasions, such as a marriage, a funeral feast, or a journey, the Subanuns were called on for special contributions of service and provisions, and in general the hand of the Moro lay heavily on the Subanun.

There can be no reasonable doubt but that these charges are, in the main, well founded. The Subanuns of Sindangan Bay, owing to their geographical situation, were not so much exposed to Moro oppression as their fellow tribesmen nearer to large centers of Moro population, but even they appear to have suffered considerably until the Spanish Government, some forty or fifty years ago, took them out of the hands of the Moros and had them pay tribute to its own representative.

SPANISH CONTROL OF THE SUBANUNS

Spanish control of the Subanuns went from one extreme to the other. It was the set policy of the Spanish Government to convert the pagans and of course, whenever a settlement was converted, the whole system of native customs was upset and the people were assimilated gradually to the culture of the Filipinos and subjected to the same controls. On the other hand, as long as a given Subanun region was pagan, the Government interfered even less than the Moro overlords had done in the internal affairs of the people. In the Sindangan Bay region, the people have always been pagans, and owing to scantiness of means at the disposal of the Society of Jesus, that body did not, during the last half century, make the persistent and strenuous efforts there that it made in other parts of Mindanao; hence the people were left almost wholly to their own customs. The *pamuku* and *buhis* that had formerly been paid to Moro datus were transferred to an agent of the Spanish government, and it is said that just as under the Moros the *bangun* or blood-money had been collected by them, so under the Spanish régime, murder cases were referred to the foreign authorities. Aside from this the people were left to govern themselves, and the social control was practically all in the hands of the *timuais* and their assistants.

The brief interregnum between the Spanish and American régimes subjected the Subanuns again to Moro control, and since the formation of the Moro Province the system of government under which they live is that which may be inferred from the acts of the legislative council of the Moro Province.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION

The religious beliefs of the Subanuns are peculiarly hard to fathom. In the first place, as a rule, the Subanun, like most other men, is averse to talking to an outsider and unbeliever about his most intimate thoughts; again, most Subanuns are afraid to talk freely about the subject because of a foreboding that they may, by doing so, perhaps offend some spirit or spirits and thus get themselves or their families into trouble. Moreover, there is no body of fixed dogmas on the subject, or system of any kind, and even if there were, the primitive Subanun would not be equal to the task of expounding it clearly. Finally, while certain ideas on the subject seem to be common to all the Subanuns observed by the writer, there are numerous differences in detail between the beliefs of the various regions. These differences are frequently seen even in passing from one river valley to another, and the ceremonies in which the ideas find expression differ too. It is probable, moreover, that ceremonies are changed from time to time even in the same region. The variety in beliefs and ceremonies is partly due no doubt to the comparative isolation from each other in which the Subanuns live, but the variations are mainly due to the vagaries and idiosyncrasies of the medicine men or shamans in whose hands guidance in religious matters is placed. Subanun religion rests, not on a single revelation, once delivered, committed to writing, and closed, but on a series of alleged revelations vouchsafed from time to time to individual medicine men. The series is never closed, and at any time the religious customs within the sphere of influence of a powerful man of this class may be altered by a new mandate from a supernatural power. As the same fundamental or guiding ideas on the supernatural are, as far as I could learn, part of the content of consciousness of all the pagan Subanuns, revolutionary changes are not to be looked for, but I was informed by Subanuns of the Siukun region that some details of their practice, notably the manner and depth of burial of the dead in the region, were changed some sixty years ago by direction of a famous medicine man who had been instructed to that effect by a *diwata*.[1] Under the Subanun system such minor changes may occur at any time.

The term *balián* is evidently connected with the word *ba-di*.[2] Father

[1] Sanskrit, *dewa* or *dewata*, a god.

[2] Sanskrit, *ba-di*. A nervous fit; sudden and inexplicable fits of trembling, attributed by Malays to supernatural agency; the sense of being haunted; etc. (Wilkinson, Dictionary of the Malay Language.)

Lisboa, in his dictionary of the Bikol dialect written about the middle of the eighteenth century, states that the natives call their wizards *balian*. It is also reported by Jesuit missionaries as being used by the Mandayas of northeastern Mindanao, under the form *bailan;* and Mr. Hickson reports it from Celebes as *walian*. The term *babailan,* in use in Negros, Palawan and elsewhere, may be another form of the same term.

THE MEDICINE MAN

The Subanun medicine man or woman is found in every neighborhood; but the people distinguish between greater and lesser practitioners. The distinction is not based upon nor indicated by any outward difference. It depends solely on the man's greater or lesser degree of supposed power over the unseen world. A *balian* may be either a man or a woman. The more prominent among those whom I saw were men.

An effort was made to get the life histories of several medicine men for the purpose of discovering what mental processes and outward circumstances led to the adoption of the profession. Unfortunately, the medicine men usually proved to be reserved on the subject. Personal observation, however, joined to the narratives given me by two of them, and information given by the headman of Nueva Reus led me to the following conclusions.

The medicine man of marked success is usually a neurasthenic and eccentric person who is often recognized by his Subanun neighbors themselves as verging on insanity. The writer was told several times by a Subanun, who was commenting on a statement made by his father, that the statement might be an unreliable one as the man was a medicine man. This eccentric and visionary character in the ordinary affairs of life does not lessen the respect or credence which men of this class receive in their professional character. It is taken as a perfectly natural thing that a man of power in spiritual things, able to see visions, hear the voice of supernatural beings and be possessed at times by a spirit, should be weak in ordinary matter-of-fact concerns.

It appears to be rather common for a medicine man's vocation to be decided during some long period of sickness and depression in early life, especially during adolescence. One of these men told me, that during a fever in his youth he heard a *diwata* calling him, telling him that it was his friend, and would be his familiar spirit. The boy, on recovery, went to a medicine man and entered into a kind of discipleship under him, learning the formulæ and ritual, until, after years passed with his master, he became an expert himself. Another informed me that his vocation was decided when one day, after being out in the forest for a few days and running short of food, he was feeling very hungry and suddenly saw a boat, like those used by Sulu traders, and a man on board who looked like a Moro. He entered into conversation with the man, who said that he was a *diwata* and would always be his friend. From that day on the Subanun became a medicine man, and from time to time called on his spirit friend for help or advice, either for himself, for a sick person, or for a whole community. The medicine man who gave this account of his "call" was well known among his fellow-tribesmen for 50 kilometers along the coast, and was held in high repute.

A medicine man of weight in his calling usually claims to have some one special friend among the *diwata* and it is on this spiritual being that he calls on important occasions. At great festivals, when several altars are set up, he does not forget to build one to his special friend.

Regarding the question of the good faith of the medicine men, it seemed to me that like similar practitioners among other primitive peoples, they are generally sincere, but may sometimes exhibit "fake" phenomena to impress the people. It must be remembered that the idea of the world being full of spirits of various kinds is so ingrained in the Subanuns from infancy, and the belief that it is possible to communicate with them—a belief constantly reënforced by dreams, omens, and strange shapes and sounds in the forest—so implicitly held, that it requires no great wrench for a man or woman to believe further that he or she has been selected by one of the spirits as a medium of communication. At the same time, certain unbalanced temperaments are peculiarly liable to those subjective sensations which are attributed to supernatural action, and a high degree of success in the profession raises a just presumption of the existence of such peculiarity of nervous organization.

The principal duties performed by the medicine man may be divided into four kinds: acting as a medium, when he is in a trance-like condition and a spirit speaks through him; speaking to a spirit, when he speaks in his own proper voice to a spirit and receives an audible reply from it; offering up sacrifices and prayers at festivals of various kinds; and curing the sick. Only a few medicine men claim to be able to do all the above-mentioned things. The two functions that almost all of them perform are the sacrificing at festivals and the treatment of the sick; a good many are capable of dancing themselves into a peculiar nervous state and acting as mediums; while those who claim the power to "interview" a spirit and receive a reply audible to everyone present on the occasion are very few. I was present, in a spirit house at Siukun, at one of these alleged interviews, which took place at about midnight. The building was divided into two rooms, in one of which the writer and some Subanuns were seated, while the medicine man was in the other. The replies of the "spirit" were audible to everybody, were given in a voice quite different from the normal voice of the practitioner, and seemed to come sometimes from under the house, sometimes from above, sometimes from some corner of the building. I believe that the man was a ventriloquist and that he gave the replies himself.

Medicine men of repute as a rule receive fees for their services. The amount of these fees varies in different localities, but is nowhere very heavy. They ordinarily earn their living mainly by agriculture, like other Subanuns. Those of high standing have usually gone through a course of discipleship in their youth, with older practitioners, who teach them the formulæ and ceremonies that compel the gods, and the Subanun layman sees no reason why they should not receive some compensation for the trouble they have taken to fit themselves for service.

Besides those who have attained to special power and reputation in their profession, there are lesser lights, *bata balian* "child" or "little" *balian*, as they are termed by their fellow-tribesmen. There are some men and many women in this category. A woman may hear the "call" from a *diwata* as well as a man, and in some cases, without claiming that she has received such a vocation, she may satisfy an inward impulse by performing certain of the minor functions of a practitioner, such as curing the sick, setting out food for spirits, and the like. It is common in or near Subanun houses to see either a *maligai* or little spirit house, supported on a single beam passing through the middle of its floor, and on which it may be turned as on an axis, or a platform hung down

from the roof inside the dwelling, and carrying the bowl, plates, and incense used in sacred rites. At certain ceremonies held for the dead, such as the *puluntúh*, a ceremony said to be performed for the ascent into heaven of the deceased, women are preferred to men for the performance of the rites that are applied to the benefit of such of the deceased as were women.

Women practitioners may be of any age from puberty upward, but the older ones naturally enjoy more consideration, as they are more experienced and are supposed to be more full of wisdom in supernatural matters. These women enjoy a certain amount of consideration because of their skill, but usually do not receive any material reward for their services. There is a vague idea that the women shamans[3] are specially potent with female spiritual beings. Women who go into the shamanistic life are allowed the same privileges as men of the same class. They are permitted to dance at the sacred feasts, shaking bunches of the leaves of the *anahau* tree and on such occasions to wear hawk-bells around the waist. There is, theoretically, no reason why they should not perform feats as important as those done by the men, but in practice one observes that women of any eminence in the shamanistic profession are few.

Lesser practitioners, whether men or women, but especially the latter, usually receive nothing for their services, or but a slight gift. At any important ceremony, the one or two important practitioners present are given the fee, and may give a fraction of the amount to their assistants if they wish. In the Sindangan Bay region, the ordinary fee for performing the several sacrifices connected with a *buklug*, the most elaborate festival of the Subanuns, is 16 fathoms of coarse imported cotton cloth and four-fifths of a pikul of unhusked rice.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

I believe that a rather minute account of religious ceremonies which I witnessed will give the best idea of Subanun beliefs and the functions of the medicine men. All these ceremonies took place in the Sindangan Bay region. The account of the ceremonies will be preceded by a few remarks explanatory of the nature of each occasion.

THE BUKLUG

This is the most elaborate festival of the Subanuns. It is prepared by raising a structure some 10 to 18 feet high consisting of a highly resilient platform supported at the corners by upright beams. A beam passes through the middle of the platform which above extends like a Maypole, and below reaches to a short, thick log laid in the ground. This log is hollowed out as much as is practicable, and lies almost immediately over a number of large earthen jars sunk in the earth, which serve as resonators. A few leaves and sticks are interposed to prevent the jars from breaking. A crosspiece which joins the long central pole or beam to the platform makes it go up and down with the latter as the Subanuns dance. The long beam, as it comes down, strikes the hollow log and makes a loud booming sound, which animates the dancers, and is usually their only music. This dancing platform—*buk-lug*—gives its name to any festival or ceremony in which it is used, but the dancing is only an incident. The more important features of the occasion are the feasting, drinking, and religious ceremonies.

The religious ceremonies differ somewhat according to the nature of the

[3] In this chapter the word "shaman" is used interchangeably with the term "medicine man" to translate the Subanun word *balian* or *belian*.

occasion, but the accompanying feasting and drinking present practically the same picture at all *buklug*, so that the following description is of general application.

When a man decides to give a *buklug*, he begins to lay by a store of rice and to collect a large number of chickens and pigs. A festival of this sort lasts at least three days, and is frequently participated in by two or three hundred persons, so that the consumption of food and rice beer is enormous, relatively to Subanun resources. As the time for the feast approaches, friends and relatives from all the surrounding country bring contributions of food, and very frequently the guests at the festival bring with them some small contribution in the way of a chicken or measure or two of rice, but in spite of the aid rendered by friends and guests, it is safe to say that three-fourths of the food and drink are usually furnished by the host.

When the time for the festival is at hand, the host sends out strips of rattan with knots representing the number of days before the festival, to the leading headmen of the neighborhood. They in their turn inform their followers, and when the date arrives a great number of people come, in their gala clothes, from all directions. Nothing can be more liberal than Subanun hospitality on these occasions. Unless there happens to be some bitter quarrel with some particular persons, nearly everybody within practicable walking distance comes in to share in the good cheer.

The men are commonly relieved of their spears on arrival, and certain men are appointed to be custodians of the weapons, which, of course, are returned to the owners when, the drinking being over, they are in their right minds.

This precaution is taken because of the heavy drinking that always takes place at these festivals. It is true that just before it begins, one of the leading men present, at the request of the host, warns all present against any infraction of decorum. He hangs from the roof-beam or other conspicuous timber of the house pieces of rattan with knots tied in them representing the number of fathoms of cloth or number of brass cannon, gongs, etc., which will be the amount of the fine if anyone commits one or more of a series of offenses which he enumerates in a loud voice. The two delinquencies against which he warns the men especially are quarreling and making, while heated with drink, improper advances to any of the women present. The more careful hosts arrange that there shall always be a small number of men not drinking—men who relieve each other in abstinence on successive days—who shall act as a sort of friendly police. The Subanuns view quarrels between men in their cups with a good deal of indulgence. The tendency is not to press offenses of this sort after the feast is over. On the other hand, improper advances to a woman are viewed seriously and if it is believed that the man making them was still sober enough to have any idea of what he was doing or saying, he will have to pay a severe fine.

There is no restriction placed by public opinion on the amount which a man may eat or drink. On the contrary, there is a friendly and jocose rivalry in these matters, especially as regards drinking. Friends sit around the Chinese jars, of all sizes, containing the fermented malt covered with water, and suck the drink through reeds. Frequently the revelers take turns at sucking, and a small brass or coconut cup of a conventional size, with a small hole in the bottom, is used to take up water and pour it into the jar, as the drink is consumed, by taking away the finger from under the hole. In this way account is kept of the amount drunk by each of the persons sucking beer out of the same jar, and he who is weak in the contest is chaffed by his companions. Under these circumstances, it is not long before high spirits reign in the house. Gongs are beaten, songs rendered, both those of fixed form and others that are im-

provised for the occasion, and in the evening or during the night, swarms of people, taking advantage of the coolness, pass from the porch of the house over to the dancing platform by a ladder or a notched log, join hands in a ring, and alternately closing in and jumping backward around the sort of Maypole in the center, all pressing down on the platform at the same moments, cause the lower end of the pole to strike forcibly the hollow log beneath, thus making a deep booming sound. Men and women mingle freely in the dancing—although in the drinking and eating there is a strong tendency for them to separate—and the clank of the women's brass anklets can be heard for hours, coming just before the boom-boom-boom of the hollow log.

The above description gives some idea of the atmosphere in which the religious ceremonies of the *buklug* are performed. It is apparent that there is nothing that can properly be called solemnity. In fact, the Subanuns seem to think that there is no necessity of anyone besides the officiating medicine men keeping a serious and preoccupied mien during the ceremonies. The general idea is that as long as the spirits are well treated, being addressed respectfully by the male and female shamans, gratified by the sweet fumes of incense, and offered the materials of a smoke, a chew, a meal, and a drink, they have no reason to complain. The writer has often seen important religious ceremonies being carefully performed by the medicine men, while the people around them were eating, drinking, singing, and bestowing nothing more than a casual glance at what the former were doing. The Subanuns think that to keep the spirits in good humor is the business of the medicine man; that is what he is paid for, and he alone knows what ought to be done for the purpose. As for laymen, the less they mix in the delicate and dangerous matters of the supernatural world, the safer for them.

With the above introductory remarks which apply to all *buklug* we may proceed to the consideration of the ceremonies seen at festivals of this sort given for two different reasons, one in fulfilment of a vow conditional on the recovery of a sick child of the host, and one in memory of, and for the good of, certain deceased persons. *Buklug* are also sometimes given after harvest, in fulfilment of a vow conditional on having a good crop, but unfortunately I witnessed no festival of this sort.

Festival to celebrate recovery of the sick.—The following ceremonies were performed in connection with a *buklug* festival vowed conditionally on the recovery of a sick child.

Seven days before the festival began, an altar was set up on the path leading to the house from the neighboring river. This altar was for the *diwata mogolot*. *Diwata mogolot* is not the name of an individual spirit, but of a whole class of spirits, who live in the sea. The object of the altar and the ceremonies associated with it was to induce the *diwata mogolot* to keep the maleficent spirits called *manamat* away from the approaching festival. The ceremonies around this altar[4] were as follows:

A piece of chicken, an egg, a chew of betel nut, a little saucer of cooked rice, and a cigarette made of tobacco wrapped round with nipa leaf, and of the small size used at spirit ceremonies, were placed on the altar. Then incense[5] was burned by a priest, a china bowl beaten with a stick and then a small gong of the kind called *agun cina* (Chinese gong), the *diwata mogolot* being invited to the repast the while. Then the medicine man seized *salidingan* in each hand—

[4] Subanun, *ta-pi*.

[5] Wherever the word "incense" is used in this chapter, it is the translation of the Subanun word *pa-li-na*, a sweet-smelling gum or resin obtained by the Subanuns from the forest, and burned at most religious ceremonies.

bunches of long strips of the leaves of the *anahau*—and danced seven times around the altar. He then sat down a few moments, while the spirits were supposed to be eating. Then seizing the leaves again, he danced seven times around the altar, going in the opposite direction from that in which he had moved before. This terminated the ceremony for the *diwata mogolot*.

A sucking pig was ceremonially killed by Unug, the leading medicine man present, just before the festival began. Some of its blood he smeared on all the supporting beams of the dancing platform, going around from one to the other in the direction of the hands of a clock.

He continued the ceremonies by performing one at an altar raised especially to his own familiar spirit, for like the more important practitioners in general, he had one particular *diwata* in whose confidence he was supposed to be. This altar contained two morsels of glutinous rice,[6] a plate of boiled rice, eight "chews" of betel-nut, four little cigarettes of tobacco wrapped in tender nipa leaf, eight eggs, and after the sucking pig mentioned in the foregoing paragraph was killed, a bit of pork. He beat a china bowl with a small stick and burned incense, inviting his familiar spirit to partake of the food, saying:

"Pimila ankhu tabaanu magalap
Nugimud nukpik néndau."

He did not dance, and I noticed that he burned the incense by holding a bit of it, fastened to a stick held in his right hand, against a firebrand held in his left. On being questioned regarding the reason for burning the incense in this fashion, he stated to me that at harvest *buklug* and those like the present one, given on account of a person's recovery from illness, incense is burned in this fashion; at *buklug* given in memory of the dead, *buklug puluntuh*, it is burned by being put in a dish containing live coals.

After the ceremony for his familiar spirit, and the touching of the supports of the dancing platform with blood, a series of ceremonies was performed at three other altars within the house. These ceremonies began in the evening and lasted, with two intervals of rest, till dawn. The three altars were grouped together, but differed somewhat in shape. The one to which the most attention seemed to be paid was composed of eight little platforms or stories built one above the other, each story having some article believed to be pleasing to the spirits, such as betel-nut, eggs, etc. At this altar, which occupied the middle position of the row of three, incense was burned, china bowls beaten with sticks, and the medicine men present compassed it and the two companion altars fourteen times, dancing, moving seven times from right to left, and seven times in the opposite direction. The food on the main altar consisted of eight eggs, eight pieces of chicken, eight little heaps of rice, eight little nipa-leaf cigarettes, and eight chews of betel-nut, one of each article on each of the eight stories. After burning incense around the main altar, and dancing around the whole group of three, incense was burned around each of the other two. Now supervened a period of rest lasting about an hour, during which the food from the three altars was cooked. When cooked, it was all replaced and the same ceremonies repeated. Finally, at about 4 o'clock in the morning, the ceremonies were performed for the third time, which seemed to conclude the matter as far as these three altars were concerned.

No further religious ceremonies were observed by the writer at this festival until the third day, which formally brought it to an end, although many visitors stayed a day or two longer. On the morning of this day, the principal shaman performed a ceremony called *mamutud* which consisted of his going about the

[6] Subanun, *pu-lút*.

house with a lighted torch, although it was broad daylight, picking up from the floor bits of grass and leaves, putting them into a basket, and, on reaching the hearth in his perambulation through the house, putting out the torch. He informed me that the object of this ceremony was to awaken any souls[7] that might be asleep, but as the symbolic connection between his actions and this explanation is not clear the correctness of this reason is not vouched for.

Shortly after this, the last of the ceremonies which I observed at this festival took place. The principal shaman left the house with a bowl in his hand. He was joined outside by an assistant, who was a woman, and a man carrying four sticks. Sharpening these sticks at one end, he thrust them into the ground on a path leading to the house, and adding some crosspieces, made a little platform on which were placed six pieces of hard-boiled eggs, two spirit cigarettes of nipa and tobacco, two chews of betel-nut, and a few morsels of rice. A glass of rice beer was placed under the platform, with the brown fermented unhusked rice in the bottom. The name of this altar and ceremony is *po-no-lud*, or "farewell," for it marks the formal close of the festival. There was no dancing at this ceremony, but incense was burned, the bowl beaten, and the spirits addressed as follows by the leading medicine man:

> "*Lamnun diwata muli na*
> *Pokh ini mitubus na;*
> *Lamnun pangamu nigera*
> *Gasi nirubas na.*"

This means, literally translated: "Return (home), all *diwata*, for this (festival) is finished. All the sacrifices have been performed, and rice beer has been offered."

It may not be out of place to set down a few statements made by the principal shaman at this festival, regarding various spirits believed in by his people. It was impossible to get any systematic or complete statement out of him, but even the disconnected bits may be of interest, as he seemed to be speaking in good faith.

According to Unug, there are three classes, as far as he knew, of the spirits known as *manamat*. The *manamat* are maleficent creatures. There might, according to him, be other classes in existence, with which some wiser medicine man might be acquainted. The three classes he knew of are the *munluh*, the *sarut* and the *gwak-gwak*. The *munluh* are of gigantic size, and dwell in the deep forests. The *sarut* also dwell in the mountains and forest, but are of pigmy size. The *gwak-gwak* differ from the other two classes as, although they live on the earth, they have wings and fly through the air. They are of the size of a man, and devour human beings.

Beside *manamat*, the maleficent spirits, there are the *diwata*, who are beings superior to them, and not of malignant temper, although they also may bring harm if not rightly treated. Of these, he knew of four classes, spirits known as *diwata sindupan* (*diwata* of the place of going down of the sun), who are the same as the *diwata dagat* (*diwata* of the sea), and the *minubu*, the *diwata mogolot;* the *mamanua;* and the *diwata langit*. The *minubu* dwell on high hills and mountains, the *mamanua* live in the great trees, such as well-grown *baiete;* finally the *diwata langit*, as signified by the name, live in the sky.

Regarding the souls of men, Unug stated that there is a kind of souls in the joints; there is also the breath;[8] finally there is the soul proper, the *gimud*, which lives under the crown of the head. Death is usually caused by the

[7] Subanun, *gi-múd*.

[8] Subanun, *gi-na-wa*.

manamat devouring the souls of the joints; this causes a man to lose his *ginawa* or breath; but the *gimud* or soul proper is not lost; it leaves the body at death and simply goes elsewhere. It is believed that it goes to *langit* or heaven, if the proper ceremonies are performed after death. Further than this he could not say, although he supposed that souls carry on in heaven the activities which occupied them on earth.

Buklug in memory of the dead.—The foregoing *buklug* was celebrated at Kalakol, Sindangan Bay, in fulfilment of a vow made conditional on the recovery of a child from sickness. The *buklug* the religious ceremonies of which are now to be described was given as part of the *puluntuh*[9] festival for the aid, and in the memory, of a nephew and a female cousin of the host. A *puluntuh* is held always for the dead, coming after another festival for the dead, called variously *pimala* and *timala*. It is, of course, only the well-to-do who can give a *buklug* on the occasion of a *puluntuh*. The festival at which the following ceremonies were performed was held at the house of Timuai Angilai, an old, rich man who lived in the neighborhood of Siari, just east of Sindangan Bay.

The first ceremonies observed were performed at two little altars, one directly under the dancing platform and the other one near by. These two altars were for the male and female *munluh* respectively. The ceremonies around the altars of the male *munluh* were performed first and were in the following order: First, putting the offerings in order. These offerings consisted of a raw egg, a little rice, a dish of rice beer, and a betel-nut divided into three pieces. Second, burning of incense. Third, beating a bowl with a small stick. Fourth, beating a sacred drum. Fifth, dancing three times around the altar and around the hollow log sunk in the ground, the medicine man holding in one hand a knife and in the other a piece of wood and a leaf. It must be remarked in passing that the altar must be made of *pisah* wood, and the wood and leaf held in his hand must also be of this tree.

The explanation of these ceremonies given to me by the officiating shaman, a certain Tambi, was, that the *munluh*, male and female, were *diwata*, and that they were thus invoked and feasted in order that they might keep away from the festival the *manamat*, or evil spirits, which might cause some one to go and kill one of his fellows. Also that the knife and wood held in the medicine man's hand when he danced typified respectively a sword and shield and were intended to frighten away these same evil spirits. The burning of the incense and the beating of the drum and bowl were an invitation to the *munluh*, and "were like saying, O *munluh*, come!"

The altar to the female *munluh* was served by two women shamans who took turns in beating a bowl, burning incense, and dancing. They carried no knife or wood when they danced, and the dance itself differed from that of the medicine man. The latter gave a characteristic Subanun shamanistic dance, hopping over the ground with a quick step, while the women did little more than posture, moving the hands, the general impression being that given by a dance of Moro women. The female *munluh's* altar had offerings of the same sort as the other, but was somewhat smaller.

After the *munluh* had been engaged to defend the assembly from evil spirits, a further precaution was taken. A sucking pig was killed, after the principal medicine man present had addressed the evil spirits in words to the effect that this was their portion, that they should take it and be satisfied, and refrain from injuring any one of the assemblage. The killing itself may be done by anyone, but the words are pronounced by a shaman. Some of the blood is then

[9] Often pronounced, *po-lun-tuh;* sometimes even *po-lon-túh*.

smeared on the hollow log which goes under the platform, which is immediately afterwards set in the hole, or rather, trench, prepared for it. When the log is in place, the medicine man proceeds to make the round of the supporting beams of the platform, moving from right to left, smearing a little of the blood on each.

The next ceremony followed quickly after the foregoing. It consisted of invoking and feasting, on the platform itself, the female spirit or goddess Dipuksaya, who is believed to dwell midway between heaven (*langit*) and earth. A little altar had been erected for her, containing a bit of chicken, an egg, a little dish of boiled rice, five chews of betel-nut, and a small jar of rice beer.

Five shamans took part in this ceremony, of whom two were women. After the burning of incense and the beating of a bowl, one of the shamans sang words to the effect that now she, Dipuksaya, had food and drink, and was begged to keep away the evil spirits. Following this invocation the five danced, one at a time, shaking the bunches of leaves used in such ceremonies, compassing the little altar with a quick, jerky, hopping step until he had been around seven times. Then he gave the bunches of leaves to a companion, who danced around the altar the same number of times. The third shaman danced around it eight times, while the last two did so three times.

This was followed by a ceremony on the bridge or passageway which, owing to the unusual height of Angilai's porch, led directly to the top of the dancing platform. Here a little altar had been erected for two birds, or kinds of birds, namely, the *ti-bo-gok* and the *ghi-na-ghau*, whose shape Dipuksaya sometimes takes. Incense was burned here, and the birds invited to partake of the food, but there was no dancing. Meantime a number of women—the number is immaterial, but on this particular occasion it happened to be three—were beating small Chinese gongs inside the house with sticks.

Several hours had already been consumed in the religious ceremonies, which had started a little before sunset, but the shamans, relieving each other at times, or sitting down for an interval of rest now and then, continued to play their part throughout the night.

The fifth altar to be the center of a ceremony, was within the house. It was erected for the spirits called *mi-tu-bu* or *ma-tu-bud* and the *ma-ma-nua*. It carried a piece of pork, three pieces of chicken, some leaves with cooked rice on them, four eggs, and three small jars of rice beer for the *mamanua* and some coconuts full of water for the *matubud*, as the latter are supposed to drink only water. *Diwata matubud* probably means "*diwata* of the sources or heads of streams." Both the *diwata mamanua* and *matubud* were called on at this altar, being begged to defend the people from the *manamat*, against whom aid had already been invoked from the *munluh* and Dipuksaya.

The sixth ceremony was in a sense the most important of all, for it was the *puluntuh nog malimatai* or *puluntuh* of the dead, which was the motive of the festival. The term *puluntuh* was explained by the principal shaman present as meaning a *raising* or *causing to rise*, the name being given to the ceremony about to be described because the latter set the souls of the dead free to *rise* into the sky. This explanation is not vouched for by the writer, but it seems plausible.

At this ceremony, no shamans but those who were widows or widowers were allowed to officiate. I was told that this rule applied everywhere in the Subanun country as far as known by the people present. As Sindangan Bay Subanuns seldom get far from their own locality, it would not be safe to say that the prohibition extends beyond this region. Owing to this prohibition the youngest

of the three medicine men present was unable to take any part in the ceremony in question.

The altar, which was large, was provided with the usual offerings, and draped with men's and women's clothing. The order of the ceremony was as follows: (1) Burning of incense; (2) one of the shamans took up a stick wrapped around which a man's clothes were draped, in allusion to, or representation of, the deceased nephew, and danced around the altar, followed by another shaman dancing and brandishing the bunches of *anahau* leaves frequently mentioned already; finally came another one dancing and bearing a stick wrapped around with a woman's clothes, as one of the two deceased persons in whose behalf the festival was being given was a woman. The three danced around the altar seven times. After sitting down to rest a few minutes, they rose and repeated the ceremony, with the difference that this time the stick wrapped with a woman's clothes was given the place of honor at the head of the line of three shamans dancing.

The ceremonies at this altar were as yet but half finished, but at this point a long halt occurred. This was due to an important part of every *puluntuh* ceremony, which was now performed. This feature was the ceremonial killing of a cock. The bird was tied by the leg to the floor. The principal medicine man present sat down near it; and after singing or chanting a few words in a high piercing voice, rose, and swinging a stout stick, struck the bird's neck with all his strength, instantly killing it. Unfortunately, I could not catch at the time the exact words of this formula owing to the strange intonations with which they were pronounced, and the medicine man who said them could not be induced to repeat them, apparently having a superstitious scruple in the matter. He informed me, however, that the gist consisted in informing the dead persons that they were now avenged. The writer was informed by several Subanuns present that in older days a man was sacrificed after a death, and that the cock was a substitute. The cock was cooked and placed on the altar on which the last-mentioned ceremonies had taken place. Thereupon those ceremonies were repeated from beginning to end.

One altar still remained to be served. This was a rather large one, and was said to be for *Gu-lai*, head of the *diwata* who live in the sky. Two men shamans took part in the ceremonies at this altar, while two others sat by the *puluntuh* altar until the ceremonies were concluded and the altar to Gulai was hoisted up under the roof.

The usual offerings of food, etc., were placed on this altar. Then one of the shamans handed to his companion a small dish containing live coals and burning incense, and lifted the hand holding the dish toward the sky. The rôles were then reversed, and the action was repeated. Then one of the medicine men chanted to Gulai, invoking his protection and blessing on the people. Meanwhile, small Chinese gongs were being beaten by women shamans, and when the incense was consumed, the two men compassed the altar one at a time, dancing eight times around it, both moving in the same direction. This concluded the ceremonies as far as could be observed by the writer. It was now broad daylight, and the tired shamans, who had officiated all night, joined in the drinking and eating and then went to sleep.

I did not see the end of this festival, so that I can not state positively whether there were any final acts to bring the occasion formally to a close or not, but it is certain that the ceremonies above described, which all took place on the first night, were the principal ones.

THE TIMALA

Buklug, because of their expense, are not very frequent, but other occasions for the services of the shaman are much commoner and attendance at them is part of the routine of his professional career. Among these is the *timala*, called in some regions *pimala*. This is a ceremony for the recently dead, and precedes the *puluntuh*. The *timala* comes soon after the bereavement, while the *puluntuh* may be put off for months. The fact is, that until the *timala* is performed the bereaved persons are under such heavy restrictions and their daily routine of life so much thrown out of gear that a long delay of the liberating ceremony of the *timala* would be intolerable. The extent and rigor of the prohibitions or taboos that oppress the relatives depend of course on their nearness to the deceased, but to some extent all the people living in the same house are affected by the death of a member of the household. These prohibitions or taboos[10] are, for the husband of a deceased woman, the following, omitting all but the important items: (1) Prohibition of remarriage. Marriage before the *timala* has been performed is regarded as an extremely scandalous act, likely to bring misfortune on the whole household, and is punished with a heavy fine. Marriage after the *timala* and before the *puluntuh* is also disapproved of, and must be atoned for by the payment of a fine, but the offense is not the serious one that the other is. (2) Prohibition of gong beating, dancing, or any other festivity. (3) No gay clothing can be worn. Red is the gala color, and is prohibited. White and black are the mourning colors, especially white. The chief mourner assumes an unkempt appearance, refraining from combing his hair and washing his person, and putting on old and shabby clothes, which he can not change until after the *timala*. (4) Prohibition of all mercantile operations. No one in the household can dun or be dunned for debt, carry out the terms of an old bargain or make a new one. (5) No suits can be tried, or other public business attended to. (6) As far as possible, the chief mourner must keep the house. It is meritorious also for the other members of the household to do the same. This of course interrupts agricultural labors, and at certain seasons, is a serious matter.

These requirements cause the prompt performance of the *timala*. The ordinary interval between it and the funeral is two or three weeks. The preparations for it are comparatively simple. A certain amount of food and rice beer are accumulated, sufficient for the feasting of the household and its relatives for one night. Then a shaman is called in and the ceremony is performed.

I witnessed a *timala* at Kalakol, Sindangan Bay. It was held for several persons at once, a woman and three small children of hers who had recently died. Nearly three weeks had passed since the death of the woman. Two weeks after her death, a little table or altar, called *bu-kar*, built up in stories, was set up for her and the children. I saw the following articles on it: A little cooked rice, an egg, a cigarette of tobacco with nipa wrapper, four chews of betelnut, and a piece of chicken; on a lower story were placed two bamboo vessels, one full of rice beer and the other of water. The vessels had reeds for sucking the contents. The cooked rice had been renewed from time to time. No shaman had been called in when this altar or table was set up, but on the night of the *timala* two were invited. One of them burned incense and beat on a bowl three sets of strokes with a slight interval between. The table or altar was then thrown away, together with the cigarette, but the other articles were consumed by persons present. No children, however, were allowed to partake of them. I

[10] Subanun, *li-ing* or *li-ing-an*.

was informed that it was an ill omen for such to eat of things offered to the dead, that in fact it would expose them to the danger of living but short lives.

There was also a considerably larger altar, called *bi-na-ba-lai*, at which more elaborate rites were celebrated, both shamans taking part. They began the ceremony by setting out a bit of raw chicken, two cigarettes of tobacco and nipa, and two raw eggs. These articles were intended for the consumption of the dead. One of the shamans then burned incense, passing the smoking bowl six times around the *binabalai;* after this he beat on a bowl with a little stick, calling aloud on the dead to come to the altar or table. While he was playing on the bowl and saying these words his assistant compassed the altar three times with a slow and peculiar step. Then the ceremony was repeated, the two exchanging rôles, save that the words were not repeated. This ended the first part of the ceremony at this altar, a rather long time then intervening, which was used to cook the rice and chicken. When this operation was finished the articles were replaced on the altar, incense was burned again, the bowl was played upon and one of the shamans invoked the dead a second time bidding them eat, "for now the food was cooked." Immediately on the ending of the ceremony, the large gongs hung in the house were joyfully beaten, and the widower went outside, where he cast off the dirty, shabby piece of cloth which he had worn, his long hair was clipped and combed, and the first and severe period of mourning was over.

FUNCTIONS OF THE MEDICINE MAN

The presence of a medicine man is not necessary at a marriage ceremony, but it is said not to be unusual for some priest present in the festive assemblage of friends that meets on such occasions to pronounce words of blessing on the couple, wishing them wealth and many children. Unfortunately I never had an opportunity of being present at a marriage, owing to the fact that during most of the time I was in the Sindangan Bay region smallpox was rife and put a damper on matrimonial plans, so that I was unable to substantiate this hearsay information.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt as to the leading rôle played by the medicine men at the special ceremonies, held from time to time in behalf of a whole community, to rid the region of some prevalent sickness, to protect it from an approaching epidemic of smallpox or cholera, or merely as an occasional prophylactic measure against disease in general. I never had an opportunity to witness ceremonies of this sort, but frequently saw, about the shores of Sindangan Bay, especially near the mouths of the rivers of the region, the altars, rice-beer jars, and even some of the morsels of betel-nut, that had been used in ceremonies of this sort.

It is not unusual for little boats to be made, from 30 to 75 centimeters long, on which articles of food are placed for spirits and set afloat, the launching being accompanied by the words of a shaman. There seem to be two ideas in this launching of a boat, namely, sending the spirits food, and offering such evil spirits as may already be in the midst of the community, a comfortable passage away from the region. I picked up once a little boat of this sort, which had been washed back by the sea and cast up on the beach. It was furnished with

little bamboo models of *lantaka* (Moro artillery), and wooden models of krises, spears and shields. It was impossible to induce any of the Subanun carriers in the party to even touch the boat, much less to carry it.

On the approach of epidemics, which, to the Subanun mind, are caused by hostile spirits, the leading shamans of the region are consulted as to the cause of the wrath of the spirits and on the best way of appeasing it. The answer depends on the peculiarities of the individual practitioner, and varies from region to region, but certain things are always required by him, such as a cessation of merrymaking. No more gong playing is allowed, nor dancing nor journeys. As far as possible, quiet has to be preserved; there must be no loud talking or mirth. Even children are kept under restraint. It is frequently required, the writer does not know for what reason, that no one go under the house. The general idea underlying these requirements seems to be that nothing should be done to attract the attention of the spirits to the community, so that noise is contraindicated, and joyful noise is especially dangerous. Of course any such thing as a marriage, with its accompanying gaiety, is absolutely tabooed, or to use the Subanun term, is *li-ing*.

The length of time during which this period lasts depends on the recommendation of the medicine man or men whose guidance has been invoked. It sometimes lasts for months. As the fear of the community becomes acute, various ceremonies, such as those mentioned on page 82 are performed. If there is a shaman of special power, he is besought to ask his familiar spirit how the people can escape disaster. He then either dances himself into a theoleptic fit at a ceremony, and in the midst of his frenzy tells the people what to do, or else retires into a spirit house which he has built and inquires of his familiar spirit. The spirit then answers him, apparently, sometimes within hearing of a crowd of people. Whatever the command or advice of the spirit is, the people hasten to follow it. There can, indeed, be no doubt of the strength of the faith of the Subanuns in their religion, or of the effort which they make to keep in good humor the various classes of spirits.

Shamans are sometimes called in to take omens at the selection of a site for a new house, and at the choice of a piece of forest for a clearing one is sometimes asked to take omens and to offer a sacrifice for the propitiation of the spirits to which it belongs. He is also at times called in to take omens in order to see whether the spirits consent to the cutting down of some particular big tree, and to propitiate any spirits that may be living in such a tree. But all these ceremonies are not believed to require special training or skill, and are commonly performed by the persons interested.

The most frequent duty of the medicine man remains to be considered. This is undoubtedly the cure of the sick. Disease, according to the

belief of the Subanuns, being caused by the spirits, the skill of the shaman is the logical resource of the patient. In mild cases of illness the former comes, chews betel-nut—sometimes mixed with herbs—and applies the quid to that portion of the patient's body which is aching. In case this does not bring relief, he usually states that a sacrifice is necessary, and sets about to erect an altar, where he places articles for eating, drinking, and smoking, burns incense, beats on a bowl or plate with a stick and calls upon either his own familiar spirit to help him, or upon the spirits which are believed to be doing the harm.

The spirit or class of spirits responsible in each case is sometimes decided off hand by the medicine man, but sometimes he has recourse to tests or omens, or even consults with his familiar spirit. At times, when the disease is obstinate, he informs the patient or his father that it is necessary to vow a *buklug* in return for recovery. If the patient recovers he or the father bends all his energies to carrying out his promise as liberally as possible.

Some of the shamans have a certain degree of knowledge of medicinal plants which they use in their curative practice. They are jealous of their knowledge along this line, and I was unable to get any very definite information out of them on the subject, or specimens of their simples.

Regarding the net result of their therapeutic practices, magical and other, it may be said that they probably do a good deal of good. They relieve the mind of the patient, usually make him believe that he is going to get well, and thus materially aid him toward recovery.

The shaman does not interfere in what may be called civil business. He does not count, by virtue of his office, as a headman, and his profession confers no right to arrange marriage payments, settle disputes, and the like. There is nothing to prevent a headman from becoming a shaman if he wishes to, but the temperament requisite to the making of a successful medicine man is so different from that necessary to a headman that such a case must be unusual. The writer met with only one instance of a headman who was also a shaman, and he had virtually abdicated his secular office in favor of his son, because he wished to give himself up to the shamanistic life, and his people, noting his mystical tendencies, were losing confidence in his common sense in practical matters.

The Subanuns are aware of the limitations as well as the power of their *balian,* and have little confidence in their judgment outside of their special sphere. Within that sphere, however, a shaman of power is greatly respected. At his decease he is not said to be "dead," but to be "asleep;" as a rule he is not buried, but left above the ground in a small house or shelter built for him. Subanuns currently believe that some of their medicine men have visited *langit,* the sky, to be present

at great conferences[11] of the gods, and have returned after having seemed to be dead many days. Even stories of resurrection are told of them. The place was pointed out to me on Dumankilas Bay where a noted shaman of the region was "sleeping." He was said to have promised to come back to his friends after a certain number of years, and my informant, an important headman who spoke in good faith, stated with the greatest seriousness that the reason why the promise had not been fulfilled was that a daughter of the deceased, after his death, had become pregnant without being married and had thus given mortal offense to her "sleeping" father.

There is a building at one Subanun village, about 16 miles north of Zamboanga, which is used from time to time for festivals of a quasi-religious character, sometimes apparently connected with phases of the moon. I was informed by the headman of the village that this building was erected in obedience to the recommendation of a dying shaman who stated that there the souls of the dead, including his own, would be present whenever a festival was held. The headman added that sometimes the movements of these souls had been heard by participants in the ceremonies and festivities celebrated there.

The possibility of any man's being brought back to life is admitted, although I heard no such case related as a fact save of one or two powerful medicine men. Stories of resurrection are not uncommon in Subanun folk-tales.

One case was gravely related to the writer of impregnation of a mortal woman by a *diwata*. According to the story a family council was called to decide what was to be done with the pregnant girl, who was believed to have disgraced herself, and in the midst of the scolding which she was receiving the voice of the *diwata* was heard coming from the platform overhead, where the plates used in religious ceremonies were kept, saying that the girl was not to blame, as the *diwata* was responsible for her condition. The story goes on to say that the issue of the union became a distinguished shaman.

Subanun religious notions have undoubtedly a certain amount of influence on the morals of the tribe. The spiritual beings are commonly believed to be provoked by departures from custom in general. Tribal custom prescribing, as it does, a certain code of conduct or morals, departures from this standard are believed to entail misfortune of a material, tangible sort, such as sickness, failure of crops, or death, sooner or later.

CEREMONIES OBSERVED IN DIVINATION AND IN MAGIC

A number of the more important Subanun ceremonies, performed by medicine men and witnessed by the writer, have been described in the preceding pages. It may be worth while to add a brief description of four ceremonies which I did not witness but which were described to

[11] Subanun. *bi-cha-ra.*

me apparently in good faith by various Subanun headmen and shamans, as of frequent performance. It will be noticed that several of these additional ceremonies might well be classified under the heading of "magic," but the line between primitive religion and magic is so faint that it is believed that there is no impropriety in treating of them in the same chapter with the ceremonies described above.

The four ceremonies are; *first,* divinatory and propitiatory proceedings preceding and accompanying agricultural occupations; *second,* divination preceding the building of a house; *third,* magical means used to bring success in hunting wild pigs; and *fourth,* similar means adopted to bring good luck in gathering wild honey.

Ceremonies in connection with agricultural operations.—It was frequently stated to me by Subanuns that their agricultural operations were preceded and accompanied by various ceremonies designed to avoid offending any of the multitude of spirits. These ceremonies probably differ, in details, in various regions, and the following account is given as applying only to the practice of the people of the Sindangan River.

The Subanun observes the position of certain stars to know when the season for opening clearings in the woods has come. Then he looks for a favorable place, and after making the selection, an altar, consisting of a little platform supported on sticks, is erected on the site, and food, betel-nut, and rice beer placed on and about it. Incense is burned, the spirits of the wood are called upon, and the food and drink are left to them for an hour or two; after this the owner and his friends are at liberty to consume it. When the ceremony is over the owner and his friends and relatives go to work cutting down the trees. Occasionally an especially old and large tree gives rise to some misgiving, lest it be the abode of spirits that might be offended by its felling. Such a tree is frequently left standing until, by divination, it is learned whether it is expedient to cut it down or not.

After the work of felling, a wait of several days ensues, to give the vegetation time to dry. Then, before proceeding to the burning, another little altar is built, and another ceremony held. The food and drink set forth this time for the spirits commonly consist of a chicken; an egg, a chew of betel, a cigar or cigarette, and a jar of rice beer. Frequently only a little piece of chicken is set on the altar for the spirits, the rest of it being consumed by the workers without its having been offered. As before, a little time is allowed after the burning of incense and an invitation to the spirits to eat, so that the latter may have time to partake of the food and drink, after which everyone is free to consume the offering.

When the time comes for the growing rice to be weeded, a third ceremony is performed before the work is undertaken, otherwise the crop is likely to be short, to say nothing of the chances of other misfortunes befalling the careless owner. This time the sacrifice of a pig is necessary. The animal is taken out to the rice field, where it is killed, not in the ordinary manner with a knife, but by thrusting a pointed stick into its body just back of the shoulder. The pig is allowed to rise and stagger about, so as to insure the growing rice being sprinkled with its blood. After this the carcass is taken to the house and cooked. A piece of its flesh, together with two eggs, a piece of chicken, some rice, and betel-nut, is set out for certain spirits, who are called upon with the customary accompaniments of beating of plates and burning of incense. This ceremony

around the pig's flesh is commonly performed by a shaman. If this is the case, he is paid nothing at the time, but is given a few measures of rice at the time of harvest. The amount of his compensation varies of course with the extent of his services and the prosperity of the cultivator; it may run anywhere between a fifth to four-fifths of a pikul of grain. As before, the food may be consumed, after it has been allowed to stand a while for the spirits.

During four days after this pig-killing ceremony, no one is allowed to go to the field in question. To warn people away, three sticks, set thus, ⊓, are placed at each corner, if the field is four-angled, and at various places along the edges if it is of irregular shape. At the end of the four days the owner takes down these sticks.

When the rice is ready for harvesting certain proceedings must be gone through with before it is gathered. A small bundle of rice ears is gathered and after being husked, is set out on an altar together with a piece of chicken, a chew of betel, a cigar or cigarette, and an egg. A ceremony must be performed over this offering, preferably by a priest, after which the harvest may be proceeded with.

It must be mentioned in passing that the little bundle of new rice can not be husked with a pestle that has been used. A new one is made for the purpose, and after serving once, is hung up in the house until the ceremony mentioned in the following paragraph has been performed, whereupon it is thrown away.

The ceremony referred to is the one which marks the end of the Subanun year. It is called the *po-son-ghú*, and if a man has the means, is frequently made the occasion of a dancing festival. Even if he can not afford to give so expensive a function, he is apt to have a shaman perform a sacrifice for him at an altar, set up in the house, on which are placed half a dozen each of chickens, eggs, cigars or cigarettes, and chews of betel, as well as a pig. Frequently, in the case of bulky or relatively valuable things such as pigs and chickens, a part is usually offered for the whole, a bit of pork and six pieces of chicken being all that is actually set on the altar. After the ceremony is over, the household and any friends who may wish to come, enjoy a good meal washed down with plenty of rice beer.

Ceremonies in connection with house building.—The thought of unseen and dangerous powers, seldom long absent from the Subanun's mind, is especially insistent when he decides to build a house. In all portions of the Subanun country which I visited the natives at such times give keen attention to dreams and omens. The following paragraph mentions some of the principal precautions taken by the people living along the Sindangan River:

Before starting to build, a man tries by divination with a length of rattan to find out whether he has chosen a lucky place or not. This form of divination—which, by the way, is frequently practiced before opening a rice clearing—is performed by laying the internodes of a given length of rattan on the ground in a certain pattern. According to the shape which the figure takes when all the internodes have been laid out, the prospective builder decides whether he should build on the site or not. Even in case the result of this preliminary divination is favorable, he may yet be balked of his purpose. For if, on returning home, he should have some dream of very ill omen, such as one that some relative is dead, he will abandon all thought of building the new house where he first intended. Again, should either of the birds called *bu-la-tuk* and *ta-mi-ang* light on the beams of the new house, he will permanently abandon

the ill-omened place. If no such difficulty arises, he proceeds to build, being helped by his friends and relatives if he has the means to furnish them with food and drink. He is, however, careful so to time his operations that the doorway of the house is not built at a time of gibbous moon.

When the house is built, he has still to observe certain precautions to avoid ill luck. On his way from the old house to the new, he notes how many houses he passes, and this number is the number of nights during which no one but he and his family must sleep in the new house, or, in case there are guests, it gives the number of nights which they must sleep in the new house consecutively. Thus, supposing the number of houses counted to be three, any guests that may pass a night in the new house must stay there two more before taking their departure.

Even after the owner has moved into his new house, any bad omen, such as the cry of either of the birds mentioned, the cry of a deer, or a shock of earthquake, will make the owner abandon the house for a day or two.

In this connection it may be mentioned that in the opinion of Subanuns of the Sindangan River, almost any unexpected and untoward event, such as the breaking of a dish, the running across the trail of a snake, news of the death of a relative, the cry of omen birds, such as the *li-mu-kun* (*Phapitreron brevirostris* Tweeddale) from the wrong direction, and the like is an evil omen. It must not be supposed that all bad omens are considered as of equal importance, or that they always make the Subanuns give up a project, but they are all considered, and very frequently lead to delaying a piece of work, a journey, a marriage, or other undertaking.

Ceremonies in connection with hunting.—The following ceremony was described to me both on the Sindangan River and at Siukun. A miniature bow and arrow and four miniature spears are planted or laid on the ground, and by them are placed four cigarettes, four chews of betel, a little rice, a young chicken, preferably black or at least dark colored, and several small images made of the bark of the *ni-bung* tree, with sticks thrust in them for legs. Incense is burned. In the Sindangan country, the *mitubu* spirits are then invoked; in the Siukun region the being invoked is Apu Jungal, who has the body of a man and the head of a pig. After this the images of pigs are thrust through with a spear, and the chicken is thrown to the leader of the pack of dogs.

In the Siukun region, another ceremony is performed after the hunter has killed seven boars. The intestines of the seventh boar are laid out on leaves as an offering to Apu Jungal, four sticks are set up around them, and on each stick are placed, as on spits, seven small pieces of meat. Then incense is burned and Apu Jungal called on again to bless the pack of dogs, keeping them from sickness and accident, and endowing them with fierceness.

Subanuns also have recourse to supernatural aid in their quest of wild honey. The bees are supposed to belong to the *manubu*, who are described as creatures with reddish or yellowish eyes, black complexion and woolly hair. It is quite possible, by the way, that the *manubu* of the Subanuns are the Negritos of a former time, transformed in the popular imagination into supernatural beings. A miniature bow and arrow are placed with the offerings, which consist of a black or dark colored chicken, and rice beer made with *dark* rice,

and honey. *Lunai*, a very sweet gummy substance, is burned, and the *manubu* begged to guide the people of the settlement to the nests of the wild bees.[12] As has been mentioned before, the Subanuns, at least in the regions visited by the writer, do not use bows and arrows. The latter are the characteristic weapons of the Negrito race, which appears to have disappeared from the Subanun country, but was found there so recently as the time of Father Combés.[13]

Before taking leave of the subject of Subanun ceremonies, it may perhaps be worth while to set down testimony relating to two human sacrifices said to have been performed by Subanuns within a recent period. I can not vouch for the truthfulness of the reports, although I am myself convinced that the first of the two mentioned took place, and that the second probably did. I can not see any motive on the part of the Subanun headman who related an account of the first case to do so unless it was true, and in the matter of the second one, the only conceivable reason for lying would be the desire on the part of the relator, who was a Mohammedan, to discredit the pagan Subanuns, a motive which seems somewhat inadequate.

Information regarding the first instance, that of a human sacrifice alleged to have been performed at Siai, on Sibugai Bay, in or about the year 1900, on account of the death of the father of Headman Bantas, was obtained from Headman Pogud, of Gubawan, who stated that he was present. Several other Subanuns said that they also had been present on this occasion.

An account of the second alleged case of human sacrifice was given to me by Datu Nunung of Siukun. He stated that in 1894 or thereabout he went to the Sindangan Bay region on behalf of his relative the Datu Maulana (title) of Siukun, who belonged to a branch of the house of the Sultans of Magindanau, and as such believed that he had claims on the Subanuns of the bay. While Datu Nunung was there the Lajah Gunum (common war chief of many settlements) of the region died, and it was decided to hold a human sacrifice. Datu Nunung, according to his story, was invited to be present and asked to deal the first blow. On going to the place appointed, he found a great crowd of Subanuns gathered under and about a large open shed erected for the occasion. Under the shed he saw the intended victim, a slave bought for the occasion. The slave was not bound, but sat cross-legged on the ground, in stolid silence, while two armed Subanuns sat on his knees to prevent a break for liberty. The datu, with his *barong*, gave the first blow, "for although the business was repugnant to

[12] The prayer uttered by a medicine man at a *manubu* ceremony witnessed by Headman Mandí of the Sindangan River ran as follows:

"Dali amu din amu manubua;
Manamu seg manuk;
Sumuda na gumanuk;
Mama seg mamaen;
Minuma de gasi;
Manunsuma dig nila;
Adum dima ami pegdinaen;
Miap panau ami
Mekhaita da ami nekh tiwan
Eg begaimu dinami."

Translation: "Hasten hither, ye *manubu;* eat the chicken; eat the egg; chew the betel-nut mixture; drink the rice beer; eat the honeycomb; in order that we may not be injured by you; grant that every time we set out we may find bees." Sometimes the *manubu* is addressed in the singular, sometimes in the plural.

[13] See page 12, note.

him, he did not care to break with custom." His blow, a light one, was followed immediately by beating of gongs, yells, brandishing of spears, and a general attack on the victim, even the women taking a hand with sharpened bamboo or anything else that came to hand. The dispatching of the slave, which took but a moment, was followed by a feast of food and beer which lasted several days.

There is nothing improbable, *a priori*, in the Subanuns having performed human sacrifice. Several such sacrifices have been reported from time to time during the last quarter of a century by the Jesuit missionaries as having been performed by other tribes in Mindanao, especially by the Bagobos. The latest human sacrifice known by the writer to have taken place in Mindanao was in 1907.[14]

SOME GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON SUBANUN RELIGION

The preceding account of Subanun religious ceremonies has, it is hoped, brought out some of the ideas which underlie them. The world, in the belief of the Subanun, is filled with a multitude of spirits, many of which are malevolent, and the others, though not of malignant character, may injure him at any time if slighted or provoked in any way. These latter spirits are known generically as the *diwata*, a term evidently of Indian origin. They, as well as the *manamat* or malignant spirits, live in various regions, some in the far west, some in heaven, which is conceived as a solid and material place, some in the intervening space between the earth and heaven, and some on the earth. Many Subanuns conceive of the spirits that inhabit the great trees, and possess the land, called *mamanua*[15] as *diwata*, while others are inclined to put them in a class by themselves. The *diwata* are, of course, created in the image of those who have imagined them. They are commonly thought to be male and female, and to have wives and children. They are, however, currently believed to be immortal, while the bad spirits, *manamat*, can be killed by them. However, it is dangerous to enter into details of Subanun belief regarding the nature of spirits, for the reason that while the Subanuns firmly believe in their existence, they themselves are hazy as to details, and are apt to give confused and even contradictory answers to questions regarding them.

There is one point on which all Subanuns appear to be agreed, namely, the belief that the *diwata* and other spirits are pleased with food and drink. Many are hazy in their minds regarding the manner in which the spirits partake of the viands. They all recognize the fact that food set out for the spirits remains intact as far as appearances go. One or

[14] An article in the Philippine Journal of Science, Section A, 3, 1908, entitled "A Case of Human Sacrifice among the Bagobos," gives an official account of this case and references to cases previously reported by missionaries.

[15] In all probability formed, like the local name of the Negritos of northeastern Mindanao, of the word *be-nu-a*, or *ba-nu-a*, land or country, and the possessive prefix *ma*, the *b* being changed to *m* under the influence of the initial letter of the prefix.

two intelligent Subanuns told me, without the idea having been suggested to them in any way, that they supposed that the spirits took the *gi-mud;* that is, the souls of the food. It is evident, also, that the Subanuns believe that the spirits enjoy scents, for the burning of incense—a sweet-smelling resin obtained from the Mindanao forest—is a routine procedure of the priests when they invoke the spirits. It may be, therefore, that it is believed that the smell of food and drink appeals to spiritual beings.

The idea of some one *diwata* who is the great head of all the others appears to be a widespread one among the Subanuns. The Subanuns have for centuries heard, from Christian Filipinos and from Moros, of the Supreme God, the *Dios* of the Christians with whom they have come in contact, and the Allah of the Moros. In many regions, also, the Subanun is familiar with the idea of kingship, and as he transfers conditions in the world he knows to the world he does not know, it is not surprising that he should think of the supernatural world as possessing a supreme head. At some settlements on Sindangan Bay, I was told by the natives that the supreme *diwata,* who lived in heaven, was called Gulai; others told me that they had heard of a supreme *diwata,* but did not care to give his name. Still others said that they knew nothing positively on the point, but supposed that matters were the same among the *diwata* as among men, with headmen, *datus,* and sultans of various degrees. Farther to the south than Sindangan Bay, in the Siukun region, the people stated that they knew there was one supreme *diwata,* but did not call him Gulai. What they did call him they did not care to say.

Greater unanimity and positiveness prevail among the Subanuns on the subject of the soul's survival of the body. Everywhere the writer found it to be the custom of the Subanuns to lay useful objects, such as working knives, betel boxes, etc., with the dead. It has been seen, also, that food is set out for them, and that even after they have been buried a long time, they may be addressed with deprecatory words when their graves are passed by the living, or when some other circumstance brings them to mind. It is a general belief among the Subanuns that the dead, if the proper ceremonies have been performed for them, go to *langit,* heaven. The Subanuns do not pretend to know positively what the souls of the dead do there, but it is significant that working tools are among the commonest things buried with corpses. There does not seem to be any idea of punishment for the bad in the ghost world. The Subanun spirits or gods punish, not because of any inherent wickedness of a man's life, but because he has in some way slighted or provoked them. The gods are conceived of as intensely human in their nature, resenting neglect just as would a man. The punishment meted out by supernatural beings is not delayed until after death. It is the firm and

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intense belief of the Subanuns that such punishment is meted out here and now, taking tangible forms, such as a plague of locusts, a destructive drought, sickness, or death.

Some indications were seen that the Subanuns believe that animals and what are to us inanimate objects are possessed of something analogous to the soul (*gi-mud*), of man. A ceremony for catching the "soul of the rice" was described to me. A Subanun chief informed me that the reason jars placed with the dead are commonly broken is to set free the "soul" of the jar to follow that of the owner. One Subanun, questioned regarding dreams, said that he supposed that what the dreamer saw were the souls of the objects dreamed about.

CHAPTER VI

TALES

The Subanuns have a rich fund of stories, which add to the pleasure of their feasts. These stories fall naturally into two classes, those which are merely recounted and those which are sung or chanted. The tales of the first kind are short, often jocose, and frequently of a Rabelaisian flavor; they are not held in honor, and serve merely to start a laugh and pass the time. Unfortunately I could gather but two of them, neither of which would look well in print. On the other hand, the long tales which are sung are always of a serious character. *Diwata,* that is, the gods, commonly figure in them, as well as mythical chiefs and ladies who were on familiar terms with gods, and half divine themselves. These tales are long, and leisurely in their movement; it often takes the greater part of a night to finish one of them. Not everyone is capable of singing them; it requires a strong memory and a good voice to do so. The singer is encouraged and sustained by another person who takes no part in the entertainment except that he starts him off by chanting a number of meaningless syllables at the pitch and in the time of the recitative to follow, and whenever he thinks the principal performer may be getting tired, he gives the latter a chance to rest a few moments by taking up the last phrase or sentence sung and repeating it, sometimes twice.

Many of these long tales revolve about a small set of principal personages, among whom are "The widow's son," "The orphan girl," and PunbEnua, who went to the snake coiled around the tree that grows in the navel of the sea. Tales such as these bring respect for the man or woman who can sing them, and pass from one settlement to another at festivals, so that they are current now among Kalibugans and Subanuns of both the northern and the southern portions of the peninsula. In the following pages, however, where a few typical examples of these serious tales are given, the name of the particular settlement where each one was taken down is given.

A STORY OF THE WIDOW'S SON

[Chanted by a Subanun of Nueva Reus, Zamboanga Peninsula]

Once on a time there lived a widow's son.[1] This youth followed closely the customs of his people and was a wise and hospitable man. He lived by working clearings in the woods, and by hunting wild pigs with his dog. One evening he said to his mother, the widow, "To-morrow I go out to hunt pigs, do you

[1] Subanun, *Bata nEg balu libun.*

therefore prepare rice before dawn." So the mother prepared rice, and after eating it he set out at dawn, with a hunting spear and his dog. He went deeper and deeper into the woods without meeting game. At last when the sun was high, he sat down on a stone to rest. Taking out his lime and betel-nut, he began to chew, and to think how far he was from home, and how strange it was that his dog had not yet found a wild pig. While he was thinking thus, all at once he heard the sharp barking of his dog, and crowding a morsel of betel-nut and leaf into his mouth, he leaped to his feet and ran to where the sound came from. Then he saw a large fine pig, all black save the four legs, which were all white. He poised his spear, but the pig ran before he could throw it. The pig did not run toward a water course, but straight up the mountain where the orphan was. The hunter pursued him hotly. Six times the pig made a stand, but each time made off just as the orphan was about to throw his spear. Finally he stopped a seventh time, this time on top of a large white stone. The orphan took careful aim and succeeded in bringing down the pig. Then with a piece of rattan he tied together the legs, and hung the pig on his back, with rattan passing around his neck and between his legs.

He was thinking of the long journey home when a door swung open out of the large stone, and a man stepped out and asked, "Why have you killed my master's pig?" The orphan answered, "I did not know it was anybody's pig, I went out to hunt pigs as is my custom; my dog found this pig and I pursued and killed it without any thought that it belonged to any one." "Come in," said the man, "and see my master." So the widow's son entered the great stone through the door and found himself in a spacious house. The floor of this house was covered with cloth which had seven wide stripes of red and seven of white, alternating; it also had a cloth ceiling[2] likewise of white and red, in alternate stripes. Soon the master of the house appeared. His trousers were of seven colors, likewise his jacket, and the twisted kerchief of his head. He ordered betel-nut to be set before the widow's son; so the betel-nut was brought out on a tray. After they had chewed for a time the master of the house ordered rice beer brought out. The *pasub* or measure of the big jar held as much as seven big bamboo water vessels, and the jar itself was so large that it had to be let through the floor to rest on the ground beneath the house, and even then a seat had to be brought, and when the widow's son seated himself on this, he was at just the right level to take the reed to drink the rice beer. The widow's son drunk seven *pasub* or measures, then the master of the house had set before him rice and fish. The matter of his pig was soon smoothed over. The master admitted that the widow's son was not to blame and said that he wished to make a brother of him. The latter said that if there was no evil plan to carry out he would be glad to accept the friendship of the man. So he stayed there seven days,[3] then the widow's son said he must return to his home.

He set out on the return journey and sat down on a stone to rest when the sun was high, and drew out his betel-nut to chew. Suddenly looking up he saw seven men armed with shield, kris, and spear. Each of the seven men was dressed in a different color and each of them had eyes of the same color as his clothing. The chief of the seven was dressed all in red and had red eyes to correspond. He asked the widow's son whither he was going. The widow's son explained, and then said, "Now in return I ask you where are you bound for, made ready as you are for war." The red-eyed man dressed in red replied, "We are warriors;[4] we go up and down in the world killing whatever we see that has life. Now

[2] Subanun, *langit langit*.
[3] Subanun, *pitu gebi*, i. e., seven nights.
[4] Subanun, *belangayan*.

that we have met you we must kill you too." Then the widow's son heard a voice singing, "Fight, for they will try to kill you whether you fight or not." The widow's son replied to the red-eyed man "I am not a fighter, but since you say you mean to fight me I shall not run away, but fight," and looking up he saw a kris and fighting spear and shield. He recognized these as the ones he had left at home. Three days and nights the battle raged between the seven and the widow's son. On the third day the leader called to his men, "Take care lest you die for I have never seen a man fight like this." Soon afterwards the leader fell, cut at the waist so that only the breadth of two fingers remained not cut through. Then one after the other the other six fell also.

When all were killed, the widow's son was so crazed by the rage of fighting that he thought no more of returning home, but set out to find whom he should slay. After a time he came to the house of a great giant named Dumalagangan. He was a great warrior, and his house was full of men of common stature whom he had captured. The widow's son called up from outside the house, "Is the master of the house at home? If he is let him come down and fight." The giant's *kisangulang* said to his master, "There is a man outside who wishes to fight." "Where is the fighter?" exclaimed the giant, contemptuously, "Ask him what he wants." The widow's son said, "If you are brave come down and fight." The giant exclaimed, "Who is this that seeks a fight with me? Usually I have to seek my antagonist." So in a great rage he seized his fighting spear, whose shaft was as the trunk of a *pugan* tree, and its blade like the leaf of the banana, also his shield and his *pinobalan* [bolo-shaped knife], and without waiting to go down the notches of the notched log that led from the door to the ground, leaped down. He looked about for an antagonist expecting to see a great man; on catching sight of the widow's son he burst out into contemptuous words saying, "Where is the man that wants to fight? That thing? it's only a fly." The widow's son did not reply, but drawing his kris rushed on his huge enemy. The fight went on three days and nights and at last the giant fell wounded in the side at the waist.

Then the widow's son burned the house and went on his way seeking whom he might slay. All at once he heard a voice saying, "Return home, for your mother is grieved at your absence." Then the widow's son in his rage lunged forward with his kris, though he saw no enemy; for he was in a rage. The *diwata* that was speaking to him, made a pass at him with his *musala bungkas* (a kerchief worn on the shoulder), and the widow's son fell into a brief sleep. On waking, his rage had passed away, and he saw the kerchief in front of him and the *diwata*. The latter told him to go home and prepare a great store of rice beer, for he was coming to visit him. He explained that the seven men, who tried to kill the widow's son had been sent by the *diwata* who lived in the large stone, for the *diwata* had seen from the lines in the widow's son's hand that he was destined to marry the orphan girl[5] whom he wished to marry himself. "Now," said the friendly *diwata*, "you have conquered; all your enemies are dead; but I shall bring them back to life and you will all live at peace." So the widow's son went home. His mother had given him up for dead. The people of the *rancheria* were bidden to prepare rice beer and all day long they came to the widow's house bearing jars of the drink. At night there was a great drinking feast, the *diwata* of the great stone, his seven emissaries, the friendly *diwata*, and the giant, all came. The widow's son married the orphan girl and the *diwata* of the great stone married a beautiful woman from Mecca, a very wise woman who had a familiar spirit who taught her wisdom.

[5] One of the stock characters in Subanun tales.

A STORY OF PUNBENUA, WHO WENT TO THE NAVEL OF THE SEA

[Chanted by a Kalibugan woman of Siukun]

PunbEnua and Maksili had just been married. There were great rejoicings which lasted six or seven whole moons. Then PunbEnua heard that Datu Lakaibunga's wife had borne him twins, a boy and a girl. PunbEnua's heart burned with envy for as yet he had no children, while Datu Lukaibunga had now a beautiful little girl and a fine boy. So out of envy he forbade the beating of *kulintangan* and of gongs, and even placed in pits which he dug the very dogs and cocks, that their voices might not be heard in the land. PunbEnua lived on a stream called *Tubig nEn gEgling Dulungan si GEla.* When two months had passed without a single sound of joy at this *rancheria* PunbEnua wondered at the conduct of his wife Maksili. She would neither eat nor chew betel but slept continually. PunbEnua and his wife slept in separate rooms. One day at sunrise PunbEnua entered the room and pushing aside the curtain asked her why she liked to sleep so much, whether it was because she was with child or what. Maksili replied that she was not with child, but merely a little indisposed. But PunbEnua leaving her apartment, ordered the rhythm called *gagun sinam bElilu* beaten to summon the people, and especially the midwife, who was to look at his wife and decide whether she was with child or not.

The summons was heard at the settlement of the girl Pinungan Basalun, a maiden niece of PunbEnua. She knew that her uncle had forbidden the beating of gongs, so, on hearing the sound, she was very curious to know what the reason could be. So she put on her best garments and came to the door to go out. At this moment a slight shower fell and a rainbow appeared, one end of which rested on the threshold of Pinungan's house, and the other on that of PunbEnua. So Pinungan Basalun did not cover the distance on the ground, but traveled over the rainbow from her house to her uncle's.

On her arrival PunbEnua had a mat spread for her just outside the room of his wife and offered her betel-nut on a golden tray. So she chewed betel-nut with her teeth that flashed with inset gold. When she had finished chewing she asked her uncle what the reason was that he had beaten the summons, seeing that she had heard that he had not only forbidden the beating of gongs, but even prevented the sound of dogs and cocks from being heard by putting them into pits. PunbEnua replied that he had the gongs beaten to call the people together and especially the midwife to see whether Maksili was with child or not. Pinungan Basalun said that as for that she could tell herself whether Maksili was with child or not. Entering the room of Maksili and pushing aside the curtains she took her by the arm. She saw at once that the woman was with child and asked her what she fancied she would like to eat. Maksili replied that there was a thing she fancied but she had refrained from mentioning it to PunbEnua because it was to be found at a great distance and she had too much consideration for him to expose him to so much danger. When pressed by Pinungan to say what it was she confessed that it was the liver of the black snake that lived in the tree *Dangal Bahal* that grew in the place called Pusu Dagat.[6] This is the place, in the middle of the sea, which rises and falls, and causes the tides. On Pinungan's leaving the room of Maksili, PunbEnua asked her eagerly for her opinion and she replied that his wife was with child. PunbEnua then asked what his wife fancied she would like to eat. Pinungan said that she would like to eat the liver and heart of the black snake that lived in the great tree Dangal Bahal, that grows in the very midst of the sea. Thereupon she took leave of her uncle, and rising on the rainbow, returned to her home.

[6] i. e., navel or center of the sea.

PunbEnua brooded over what she had said. He neither ate nor chewed betel-nut the whole day. Finally, near sundown he entered his wife's room to tell her that he was leaving to get the liver of the black snake. He ordered his galley to be prepared, and when the night was well begun set out on his dangerous errand.

For three whole moons he sailed, when one day he saw the great tree spreading over the waters. Fortunately he happened to arrive at a time when the water was calm. The great tree was rooted on a rock. He saw the great black snake wound around the tree. The snake saw him and said, "I lie in wait for birds and animals in order to eat them, now I will eat you." PunbEnua replied, "It is because of a great need that I have come here. As for your eating me you may do so at once," and he stretched out his hand. The snake lifted up his head and stretching his body seized the hand with his teeth, but he dropped it at once saying: "It is bitter, more bitter than the *pandiawal*.[7]" Then he said, "What do you wish here? Whatever you wish I must yield to you for I can not eat you." Then PunbEnua told his errand, and the shining black snake turned up his belly and PunbEnua, ripping open with his kris a part of it, cut off a piece of the liver and a piece of the heart. Then taking a morsel of betel-nut he chewed it and taking it from his mouth put it on the wounds and they healed up at once, as if they had never been. Then the snake feeling himself healed said to PunbEnua: "If this son of yours who is about to be born should ever have need of me, let him mention my name, and, although I am of no account, I may be able to help him."

Wrapping the liver in a kerchief, PunbEnua hastily made away from the dangerous place. He sailed about the fourth part of a day when a great storm came upon him. He saw that it was impossible to do anything against the wind; he could only scud before it. Then he called aloud before it, "If it be true that I am as one of the *diwata*, let this kerchief of mine speed to my house," and throwing his kerchief containing the liver into the air it sped through the air until it reached the very room of Maksili, who saw it and said, "This is the kerchief of PunbEnua." But the boat could make no headway against the wind, and scudded before it all night.

At daybreak PunbEnua saw that he had been carried to *DElEngan nokh Songunui Tubig nokh Santing* where dwelt an enemy of his, Datu Lumalab. On entering the mouth of the river PunbEnua caused the gongs to be beaten and the cannons to be fired. Lumalab and his people swarmed down to the water's edge, for they were many. PunbEnua wrapped on his *genbEt*[8] and went ashore with one hundred and fifty men, and on being asked by Datu Lumalab for the reason of the visit, related how he had set out for the great tree in the navel of the sea, and had been driven out of his course during his return voyage by a great storm. Lumalab replied, "This is a place to which no living thing, man or beast, ever came and returned." He pointed to a stream that flowed by his house. PunbEnua looked and saw that the river was of blood, and its stones were human skulls. Lumalab went on: "Now if you wish to return to your galley for preparation before we have some diversion, you are free to do so." PunbEnua's squire[9] urged his master to return and flee, for the men of Lumalab were many. But PunbEnua said, "Not so, for if we leave now it will be said that I fled, and death is better than disgrace for a man." So he remained with his hundred and fifty men, at the same time sending his squire back to the galley to guard it with

[7] A kind of creeper proverbial for its bitterness.
[8] Coarse, thick cloth used as armor.
[9] Subanun, *pi-lak*, squire or fighting companion.

the remaining hundred and fifty men, and to bring aid to Punbenua whenever he should be sent for.

So the squire returned to the galley and PunbEnua went into Lumalab's house. There Lumalab had a feast spread before the stranger, and gave him rice beer to drink. But in the beer he had placed a poison called *lupag*. After eating and drinking they went out to do battle, Lumalab with his many men and PunbEnua with only a hundred and fifty men. But first, Lumalab placing a kerchief on the ground, a *kota* or stockade sprang up into the air higher than a man could see, cutting off the squire and his men from coming to the aid of PunbEnua. Then the fight began. The two champions fought continually for seven days and nights, then seven weeks, then month by month, until one year ran into another till fifteen years of continuous fighting had taken place. Many of Lumalab's followers were killed, but so many were these people that it seemed at the end that there were more than ever before. Now all of the hundred and fifty who were with PunbEnua were killed and he himself was no more than skin and bones.

Meantime Maksili on receiving the kerchief with a piece of the liver and heart of the shining black snake, recognized the kerchief as that of PunbEnua. And soon afterwards she felt her pains coming on and calling to her maid she said, "I believe that my travail has begun," and she travailed for seven days and nights and brought forth twins, a boy and girl. The boy was black but his sister was white. The boy was born first and when the girl was being born a great storm came up, and snatching up the new-born girl whirled her away to the great tree Dangal Bahal that grows in the navel of the sea. And the shining black snake, looking upon it, said, "Surely this is the little child of which PunbEnua spoke. PunbEnua has not returned to his home or the child would not have been lost thus," and as it had been whirled away before it could be washed, licked it all over with his forked tongue, and opening a door that led into the tree, placed the little girl within. And the interior of the tree was furnished like a house. But Maksili did not know where the girl was, and bewailed her lot, saying, "If PunbEnua had been here the child would not have been lost."

Meanwhile PunbEnua was hard put to it to escape death. He was too weak to do more than try to cover his body with his shield. Finally, the kris of Lumalab crashed through this and PunbEnua sank to the ground, wounded in the side. Then taking a kerchief he threw it in the air and it sped to the feet of the squire on the galley. But before the latter could come to his aid, PunbEnua was dead, and Lumalab caused his dead body to be hung in a coconut tree near the river mouth. The squire on receiving the kerchief sprang up at once and seizing his weapons sprang ashore alone. He was confronted by the lofty wall which Lumalab had raised with his kerchief, but the squire said, "If it be true that my master is a great datu, and of an ancient family of datus, then I can leap over the wall," and leaping into the air he cleared the *kota* at a bound and found himself on the other side. Every living thing, man or beast, that he found on the way he killed, until he reached his master. When he saw the headless trunk he beat his breast and cried, "Would that I had been with you that we might have died together," and he rushed at Datu Lumalab. So the two fought together for three nights and days. At the end of that time he felt very weak and could do no more than merely ward off the datu's blows.

Meantime the black boy grew faster than common children. In a week he was a big baby, in two weeks he was crawling, in three weeks he could stumble about and at the end of one moon he could walk. When he was fifteen years old he was already full grown. One day he asked his mother whether he did not have a father, "For," he said, "every one near here has a father; where is mine?"

At the mention of his father, Maksili wept, and told him the story of PunbEnua's quest. "I do not know whether he lives or not," she said. Then her black son, who was called *Datu nEng Mitum Ghawasa nEng MEdEndum*, went into his chamber and ate nothing for seven nights and days. At the end of that time he came out and said he was going out in search of his father. So he went down to the shore of the sea. And as he came to the water's edge he saw a black snake in the water, as big as the thickest part of a man's leg. And the snake seeing him, came to the shore, and lifting half of his body out of the water, said: "I was sent by my datu who lives in the tree Dangal Bahal, to take you to where your father is." So the black datu sat on the snake's back, and the snake carried him over the sea, for he knew where PunbEnua was.

At the end of a day and a night Datu nEng Mitum Ghasawa nEng MEdEndum reached the mouth of Lumalab's settlement. He saw a galley of seven banks of oars and men within it, but none who seemed to be a datu. He looked up into a coconut tree and saw a man's head there. He did not recognize the head, but it filled him with dark foreboding. But he went on and saw a squire fighting with a datu. Then he spoke to the squire and asked him the cause of his fighting. The squire did not wish to speak of the past, but being asked, could not refuse, and told how he had set out with a datu named PunbEnua on a quest for the heart and liver of the great black serpent that lived in the great tree in the navel of the sea, and how they had been driven by a storm to this island, and how PunbEnua was killed by the datu who was fighting now. Meantime Datu Lumalab saw the two men talking, and cried out, "If this is some aid coming to your help let him come on, for I have not yet had enough." Then the Black Datu said, "It is not fit that a datu should fight with a mere *pilak*, I will take your adversary's place." The Black Datu, on leaving home had told Maksili that he would never return, so, after wrapping up the head of PunbEnua in a kerchief, and sending it through the air to Maksili, he commanded the squire to take the galley and return home with all the people on it, while he remained to fight. For three nights and three days he fought with Datu Lumalab. At the end of that time he struck him in the waist with his kris, so that Lumalab was almost cut in two, his body only hanging together by a strip of flesh two fingers wide. Then he killed all of Lumalab's people and ran about killing every living thing that he met, and searching for more.

Meantime Maksili's brother, Tandag Banag, said to his sons, "It has been a long time since we have visited my sister, go and see how she fares." Then three of his four sons, namely, Tulali, Tigulanga, and Mending Pisa, set out for her place. They arrived there on the afternoon of the same day on which PunbEnua's squire had come. They did not wait to beat the gong at the mouth of the river, but leaped ashore at once and went to her house. They found her in tears, for the squire had told her the story of PunbEnua's fight and death and the danger of her son. On hearing the story, Tulali and his brothers set out at once to seek her son, the Black Datu. Coming to the galley that was an heirloom of seven generations, a galley that had curtains within, they said, "If it be true that you are a galley that is an heirloom of seven generations you will not need the labor of men but will of yourself set out on our journey." So saying they leaped within and the galley, without push of oars or sails, started at once and moved swiftly over the waters.

Meantime the son of Lukaibunga, Magutanga, wished to go abroad to see the world. He put on his best garments, anointed with oil his locks which reached to his waist and set a comb in his hair. Then he went to the head of the notched log to go down, but a rainbow appeared at the threshold, and he traveled over it to where it ended at the settlement of Datu Lumalab. There he descended on

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the earth and wondered because he saw no living thing. As he went on, looking for some one, he saw a great hole in the ground and the footprint of a man who had gone down it. But he did not wish to descend into the ground, and spreading his kerchief, and seating himself upon it, he flew through the air until he reached the Land of the Setting Sun, whose datu was *Magujabang PungEbi MEgligat Dali Andau.*

Now Lukaibunga's son had set out on his travels, and *Bai*[10] *Mali Mulok bai sEg Ginampul* acted as follows. She was jealous of his twin sister Binubung, for being a *diwata*, she knew beforehand that she was destined to marry the Black Datu. So she sought to make her marry someone else, that she might have him herself. She spread out her kerchief and said, "If it is true that I am a *diwata*, do you become a *banug*.[11]" The words were scarcely out of her mouth when the kerchief disappeared and a *banug* appeared. She told the *banug* to go to where Lukaibunga's daughter was and bring her to where she was. So the bird flew to Lukaibunga's daughter's house and seizing the girl, brought her to the *diwata*. Then the Mistress of the Air laid her in a glass casket and turned a key upon her so that she could not escape. And turning to the *banug* she said, "Take this to Datu Lumughun and tell him that it is a gift from me." So the great bird bore that girl to the datu and told him what the Mistress of the Air had said. As the great bird bore the girl away she screamed for help, calling out the name of her brother. The Black Datu heard the cry from where he was under the earth and exclaimed, "I hear a good bird-song." Binubung as she sped through the air heard the speech and replied: "Why do you answer, seeing that I did not call on you? I could have done so, for I know your name; it is Dogbuluan GhEtunan." So Dogbuluan heard his name for the first time. Then the datu looked at the girl through the casket and liked her. And he said to her, "Fetch me some betel-nut to chew." And Binubung replied, "I will do so willingly if you will open the casket, for I have been told that the one who opens my casket will be my husband." Then Datu Lumughun sought to open the casket and failing in that he struck it with a hammer, but it would not break. For six days and nights he labored but in vain.

Dogbuluan GhEtunan, after slaying Datu Lumalab and his people, went on to seek further victims and came to an opening in the ground. He went down the opening and it was his footprint on the ground that the son of Lakaibunga had seen. He went down and down and finally met Datu MEnElEngma who lives in the bottom of the sea and is its lord. There he fought with MEnElEngman and finally striking him at the waist with his kris killed him. Then he came back to the surface, and walking first on the island and then on the sea, he came near the land of Datu Lumughun. Now this place was peculiar in that it fled before him, so that for seven nights and days he tried to catch up with it and failed, though he was only twenty fathoms from it all the time. Then he took his kerchief and said, "If it is true that I am a great datu and under the protection of *diwata*, on my fluttering the kerchief this place will stay still." So he fluttered the kerchief and the land stood still so that he entered the very house of Datu Lumughun. There he saw the casket, but as dawn was just breaking, and one could not see clearly, Datu Lumughun did not see him. GhEtunan touched the casket and it flew open. The Datu Lumughun was glad for he thought he himself had opened it. Binubung also was glad and she knew who had set her free. But soon Datu Lumughun noted the presence of GhEtunan. He cried to Binubung, "So this is why you are glad; it is because of the arrival

[10] Title equivalent to 'Lady' or 'Princess'.
[11] A kind of mythical bird.

of this man." And seizing weapons he leaped to the ground to fight with GhEtunan.

Seven moons GhEtunan fought against Datu Lumughun and his people, but he could not conquer, for every time he killed one of Datu Lumughun's men two sprang up in his place. After seven months Tulali and his brothers arrived in a galley that was an heirloom seven generations old. On seeing GhEtunan they gave him their hand, saying that they had not expected to find him there, but at the island of Datu Lumalab where they had not yet arrived. After speaking thus the three brothers joined in the fight. But, as before, every time an enemy was killed two sprang up in his place. Finally Pinungan Basalun, niece of PunbEnua, had pity on her relatives who were fighting; for although they were out of her sight, they were not out of her knowledge, for she was a *diwata* and knew how matters stood with them. So she went on a rainbow to Datu PogowanEn, who lived in the air, asking for aid, and he went to Asug. When he came to the latter she was seated, and when she arose to go to her room she seemed to be a very little old woman, who seemed to be about to fall down at every step. But when she entered her room she was changed into a beautiful young woman. She approached a golden jar, and on opening it a charmed belt inlaid with pearls flew out. Asug gave it to PogowanEn, who moved on a rainbow which reached the place where GhEtunan was fighting. As he came over the place where GhEtunan stood he dropped the belt. GhEtunan seized it at once and bound it around his waist. After this whenever GhEtunan killed an enemy he stayed dead and no one took his place.

Once GhEtunan cut Datu Lumughun nearly in two, but Lumughun binding a kerchief over the wound was restored at once. But after twice seven days and seven nights of fighting GhEtunan struck him again, severing him in two at the waist. This time Datu Lumughun sank to the ground to rise up no more. At this moment Magutanga, twin brother of Binubung, arrived from the land of the west, where he had killed its datu. By this time all the datus were crazed by the lust of blood. They struck at each other without regard for kinship, each one against all the rest. None could kill the others, but the crash of their shields when they met was like thunder. When Asug saw that the datus were crazed with the blood lust, she fluttered her kerchief over them and they all fell asleep a moment, and when they awoke they were in their right minds. Then they all set out for the house of Maksili where a great *buklug* [12] was being prepared by the brother of Tulali, who had not followed him on his quest, and by Maksili. For PogowanEn had gone before, bidding them prepare a feast. Thither went also Asug and Pinungan Basalun, and Asug went by way of the great tree in the navel of the sea and took the Black Datu's twin sister, now grown to a beautiful woman, with her, and the great Magbayaja himself, greatest of all the *diwata*, went also to the feast and he caused all those who had been slain in the fights to live again, PunbEnua and Datu Lumalab and Datu Lumughun, who ruled in the land that fled before GhEtunan. And Binubung was married to Dogbuluan GhEtunan, and his sister to Datu Magutanga. And there was great rejoicing.

A STORY OF THE ORPHAN GIRL [13]

[Chanted by a Subanun of Nueva Reus, Zamboanga Peninsula.]

There was once an orphan girl. One day she was surprised at noontime with a great drowsiness. She wondered at this sleepiness, but not being able

[12] Festival with dancing on a raised platform.

[13] Subanun, *Bata Ilu neg libun*. Like "the widow's son," "the orphan girl" is one of the stock characters of Subanun tales, and the story here given is but one of several told of her.

to resist it, she folded up her sewing and, stretching herself out on a mat, fell fast asleep. As she slept she dreamed. A beautiful woman came to her and said, "Formerly the place where you live was full of people, instead of uninhabited save by you, as at present. But one day the *manamat*[14] came and devoured them all, save you, and they are coming again to get you. So on the third day from now leave this place lest you be devoured also." On awaking the orphan girl wondered at the dream, but did not act upon it. "After all," she said, "it was only a dream." So she remained where she was. At dawn of the third day a huge spider approached her and said: "I understand that you were warned in a dream to leave this place. Why have you not done so?" The orphan girl replied, "There are two reasons why I have not left this place; first, because the warning was merely a dream, and second, because where my father and mother have died it is fitting that I should die also." But the spider reproved her and told her to leave at once, "for," he said, "the *manamat* are at this moment on the way hither to devour you."

So the orphan girl went into her room and put on her best clothes, and weeping at the remembrance of her father and mother she went down the notched log to join the great spider. The spider and she went on till they came to a well. They had no sooner reached the well than they heard a great noise of people in the house they had just left. "I shall remain here," said the spider, "while you had better flee this way," pointing out a direction to the orphan girl. So she fled up the path he had pointed out, for she was now filled with terror. She had scarcely disappeared when three persons came running up to the well. They wore black breeches that reached only to the knees, and black jackets, while on their heads they wore black kerchiefs. Their chins were bearded and their eyes were red. "What are you seeking?" asked the spider, "you are in haste." "We are seeking the orphan girl," replied one of the three, "but why do you ask? You must have seen her." The spider denied it, but the *manamat* said, "We smell her recent presence here; tell us where she went or we kill you." Then the spider, pointing one of his crooked legs, said, "She went this way." Now the spider wished to give the orphan girl a start over the *manamat*, so he did not straighten out his leg when he pointed; thus the *manamat* were led astray. Soon they came running back, saying, "We can not see her tracks; we have also lost her scent. Tell us the truth." So the spider held out a second leg crooked as before. The *manamat* dashed off again, but soon came back with the same complaint. After the fourth false start one of the *manamat* lifted up his stick to kill the spider. So the spider straightened out his last remaining leg and showed the right direction. Then the *manamat* rushed off again, and this time they could follow the scent and the footprints. Finally they caught sight of the orphan girl who had reached the ridge of a mountain; but she, looking back, also caught a glimpse of the *manamat* and when they reached the top of the ridge, she was in the valley on the other side.

Finally, in the middle of the afternoon of the second day, she saw a little hut. In front of the hut was a young man, a servant who was cooking rice. She was so much exhausted that she staggered and fell on the floor and fell asleep without saying a word.

Meantime the youth saw a multitude approaching, three persons being in front of the rest. He also noted one person of gigantic size. This was Gunluh,[15] chief of all the *manamat*. Now it happened that the hut was a hunting lodge

[14] Evil spirits, generally considered by the Subanuns as inferior to the *diwata*, but at least as much feared.

[15] The Subanuns of Sindangan pronounce his name Munluh.

of the widow's son. His serving man told him what he had seen and seized a spear. The widow's son took no weapon, but came out with bare hands. On one of the *manamat* arriving at the hut, the widow's son asked what was wanted. "We are pursuing the orphan girl in order to eat her," he replied, "but since we have encountered you two men, so much the better, we shall now have three persons to devour instead of one." One of the *manamat* tried to seize the widow's son by the waist, but receiving a great blow from his arm went head over heels into the air, struck a stone on falling to the ground and so was killed. Another tried to seize him by the leg but receiving a powerful kick was likewise killed.

So the fight went on between the serving man and the widow's son on one side and the *manamat* on the other, until all the latter were killed, save the chief, the Gunluh, whose name was Makayaga. This giant raised his club, the thick head of which was as large as a calabash, to bring it down on the head of the widow's son; the latter, dodging the blow, seized the giant, and pulling down a rattan together with some of the leaves and branches of the tree around which it clung, tied him hand and foot with thorns and all. Then Makayaga gave himself up as conquered and begged for his life. He offered to give up his independence and acknowledge the widow's son as his lord; to give up the custom of devouring human beings, and to assist the widow's son at any time he should be called upon. In addition he offered his conqueror a great pearl.[16] He offered to take the widow's son to the cave where he and his *manamat* dwelt and to turn over everything to him. The widow's son said, "Swear to these things." Then the humble giant swore and the widow's son released him and gave him permission to return to his own place.

Then the widow's son turned to the girl and asked whence she came and who her people were. The girl told all she knew, and he asked her to follow him to the home of his mother, seeing that the girl was an orphan and her people had been devoured by the *manamat*. So the girl lived for a time with his mother. The widow's son was not of chieftainly descent, but his head and heart were so good that the chief of the settlement had taken him into the government and the older men never held a *bichara* without the widow's son sitting at their side.

Now the sultan of a neighboring region heard of the orphan girl, for she was very beautiful, with straight eyebrows, and very skilful in all womanly arts, such as weaving. So he sent a representative to the chief to ask her hand for his son. The chief received the sultan's representative well, but said that although he was chief, he had to consult the widow's son. So he sent a message to the latter on the subject. But the widow's son refused to let the girl go, saying that she might have relatives somewhere, and that in that case it would not be right to marry her off without consulting them. When the messenger brought back this word to the sultan he was very angry, and sent a man to bring the widow's son by force, but on looking on him the man was afraid and came back without him. "Coward!" exclaimed the sultan, and sent another man. But he too returned without the widow's son.

Meanwhile the booming of a great gong came from the river's mouth. The sultan himself had arrived and a shareef from Mecca with him to witness the marriage. The shareef remained in his boat while the sultan went to the chief's house. He had invited the shareef to the wedding, for being a sultan he did not think of even the possibility of the girl being refused. When he heard of the state of things he was angry, and sent men to bring the widow's son into his presence. This man wished to tie the widow's son's hands and feet and bring

[16] Literally, "a great *golden* pearl."

him by force, but the latter said, "Leave me free and I will follow you of my own accord." The sultan's messenger said, "I am afraid you will run away into the forest." Then the widow's son was angry. "Never from my childhood up have I ever run away from anyone," he said. So the sultan's messenger, fearing further trouble, left him free, and the widow's son followed of his own accord. When he had come into the presence of the sultan the latter liked his fine, manly looks. He wished to treat him kindly, but when the sultan began to talk of the marriage and asked the widow's son what he had to say, the latter said, "My mouth does not say a different thing each time. What I had to say before, I say again. The girl may have some relatives somewhere and I can not give her in marriage without consulting them, although I recognize you as sultan." Then the sultan was very angry and ordered him seized by one of his men. But on trying to seize the widow's son his hand would not go around the latter's wrists, nor his arms around his waist. Then the sultan was furious. He ordered the widow's son killed. A man tried to bring down his kris, but it refused to descend. The widow's son did nothing. The sultan finally crying out that all his men were cowards, drew his own kris, saying, "So you are greater than I, are you?" But on bringing down his own kris it flew over the widow's son's head. A second attempt resulted the same way.

Finally the sultan in despair sent for the shareef. The shareef came, bringing with him his book. Looking into the book he said it was not right to kill the widow's son and that in case the sultan insisted on killing him, he, the shareef, would return to Mecca. The sultan continuing in his rage, the shareef returned to his boat and went back to Mecca, whence he had come. Now the sultan had heard of a wise man in Mecca who had a familiar spirit. He sent for this man to come and kill the widow's son. But he, looking into a book, said the widow's son should not be killed, and that he would ask his familiar spirit to come to the widow's son's place to make peace between the sultan and the young man. So the familiar spirit came, in human shape, to the house of the chief. Hundreds were gathered together and there was drinking of rice beer and feasting, and the spirit, looking at the palms of the hands of the interested persons, said that the widow's son should marry the orphan girl, and as for the sultan's son, he should, according to the lines of his hands, marry a certain beautiful woman of Mecca. So these marriages were arranged, and there was peace between the sultan and the widow's son.

APPENDIXES TO PART I

APPENDIX I

WORD-LISTS

The following points in the orthography of the word-lists here given seem to require a statement.

The vowels have the Italian or so-called "continental" values. Thus, *a* stands for the vowel sound in the first syllable of the word *father, u* has the value of *o* in the word *move,* and so on. As is the case in writing other Philippine dialects, it is not seldom difficult to know whether to use *i* or *e,* as there are many words in which the vowel sound fluctuates between the one and the other, different persons of the same *ranchería* and even the same person at different times pronouncing them now in one way, now in another. The same statement may be made regarding the sounds *o* and *u,* although the fluctuation does not seem as common in their case.

One of the commonest vowel sounds in Subanun is equivalent, or very nearly so, to the sound of **e** in the word *her.* This sound is represented in these word-lists by a small capital E.

y is only used as a consonant.

au represents the value of *ou* in the word *house* or of **ow** in the word *how.*

ai has the value of **ay** in the affirmative interjection *aye.*

g is always hard, as in the word 'guard'.

gh and **kh** represent harsh guttural sounds very common in Subanun of which the writer knows of no examples in English.

ng has the value of the **ng** in *singer; ngg* has the value of **ng** in *finger.*

WORD-LIST FROM THE REGION AT THE MOUTH OF THE SINDANGAN RIVER, SINDANGAN BAY

Adam's apple. *Tu-lakh.*
Afternoon. *Gi-nEng-a minekh gEn-dau.*
All. *Lo-nan.*
Ankle. *Bo-gho-ghu.*
Apron. (occasionally worn by men instead of a breechcloth). *MEg-lEng tapis.*
Arm. *Bungh-En* or *bun-kEn;* right arm, *bun-ghEn dig li-ut;* left arm, *bun-ghEn dig me-bang.*
Armpit. *Gi-lEkh.*
Arrow. *Li-puh pa-na.*
Ashes. *Ga-bu.*
Ax. *Gwa-sai.*
Back. *Lo-ghud.*
Bamboo to fetch water. *Si-gu-ban.*
Banana. *Sa-ging.*
Bat. *Lak-nit,* a small variety of bat; *ba-ti-ti,* a large variety.
Beard. *Bang-Et.*
Beef. *Gu-nud gha-la-bau.*
Belly. *Pun-ti-an.*
Belt. *Ba-ling,* a cloth girdle; *ba-kEs* or *ba-kEs pa-nit,* a leather belt.
Betel nut. *Bung-a.*
Bird. *Ma-nuk,* generic term; *ma-nuk ma-nuk,* small bird.
Black. *Mi-tom* or *mi-tEm* or *mi-tum.*
Blacksmith. *Pan-dai* or *pan-dai put-au.*
Bladder. *Ta-lip.*
Blanket (sometimes used as article of clothing when weather is cold). *Gu-mut.*
Blaze. *Li-ga* or *li-ga ga-pui.*
Blood. *Du-gu.*
Blue. *Ga-sul* (probably Spanish).
Boar. *Bu-ta-al.*
Body. *La-was.*
Bone. *Tu-la-an.*
Bow (for shooting). *Pa-na.*
Bowstring. *Gi-ghet.*
Brain. *Gu-tek.*
Breast. *GEg-dEb;* breast of a man, *gEg-dEb le-e;* breast of a woman, *dub-dub li-bun.*
Breath (vital spirit). *Gi-na-wa.*
Breechcloth. *Ba-ag.*
Bridge. *Ti-na-yan; ti-tai.*
Brown. *Pu-la pa-nit* (lit., "skin-red").
Bull. *Tu-ru ba-gha* (Spanish).
Bullet. *Ba-la* (Spanish).
Burial cave. *O-lung-o-ban.*
Button. *Tam-bukn* or *tam-bugn.*
Calf of the leg. *Ti-an nEkh pu-su.*
Camote. *Gu-bi ma-na-nap.*
Canoe (or small boat, intended to carry but one man). *Gha-li-yan.*
Cannon (Moro) *Lan-ta-ka.*
Cap. *Po-pi-a.*
Cat. *Lu-bing,* said to be a wild-cat; *gi-ghus* and *bi-ring,* domestic cat.
Chief (headman). *Ti-mu-ai.*
Child. *Ba-ta.*
Chin. *So-lang.*
Cigar. *Ta-ba-ghu.*
Cigarette. *La-kas ma-is,* when made of tobacco with corn-husk wrapper; *ga-sa, sa-ging,* when made with banana leaf wrapper; *tu-tu-san,* a "store" cigarette; *ti-gul,* when made with nipa leaf wrapper.
Coals, live. *Ba-ga;* dead coals, *mu-sing.*
Coconut. *Ni-ug.*
Comb. *Sun-dai,* of bamboo when home-made.
Conference (or any gathering to transact business). *Bi-cha-ra.*
Copper. *Tum-ba-ga.*
Corn. *Ma-is;* grains of corn, *pu-tok ma-is;* green corn, *man-gud.*
Cow. *Ba-gha* (Spanish).
Crab, hermit. *Gu-mang.*
Crocodile. *Bu-ay-a.*
Crow. *Gu-ak.*
Crown of head. *Bo-li-bod* or *bu-li-bud.*
Cup. *Ya-ung.*
Custom. *Ba-tad; bE-ta-san,* the whole body of customs.
Cut (verb). *Ga-ba-sen.*
Dancing platform. *Buk-lug.*
Dawn. *Pu-ti-da-lag,* "white-yellow."
Day. *Gon-dau* or *gEn-dau;* day in the sense of twenty-four hours, *GEn-dau bu gE-bi-i.* The Subanuns of Sindangan Bay usually reckon time by nights, not days.
Day after to-morrow. *Sa-lang En-dau.*
Day before yesterday. *La-bung ag la-bung.*
Deer. *Gu-sa.*
Dog. *Gi-tu.*
Doorway. *Ba-wang Eg-dan.*
Dream (or vision). *Ta-gi-nop.*

Drum. *Tam-bul* (Spanish); *ta-la-bi*, a sort of drum seldom if ever used except ceremonially.
Dye. *Pang-la-mu-gan.*
Eagle (fish-eagle; may not be a true eagle). *Ma-na-ul.*
Ear. *Ta-ling-a.*
Ear opening. *Lu-ang ta-ling-a.*
Earring. *Gan-ting gan-ting.*
Earthquake. *Li-nug.*
Egg. *Gu-ma-nuk.*
Eight. *Wa-lu.*
Elbow. *Si-yu.*
Eleven. *Sa-pu-lu bu sa-la.*
Embroider. *Lan-kep.*
Enemy. *Bu-nu; ban-ta.*
Evening. *Po-lu-pun gE-bi; gE-bi.*
Eye. *Ma-ta.*
Eyebrow. *Gi-lai.*
Eyelash. *Pi-lEkh.*
Eyelid. *Pi-la-tEn.*
Face. *Mu-lu.*
Fat (noun). *Ta-ba.*
Finger. *Tun-duh,* generic word, also first finger; second finger, *da-tu tun-duh;* third finger, *ma-ni-san;* little finger, *ko-in-ghai.*
Finger nail. *Ka-nuku.*
Fire. *Ga-pui.*
Fireplace. *Bu-a-nan.*
Firewood. *Gi-nu-lai.*
First. *Mi-na; bEk-na.*
Fish. *SE-da.*
Fish basket. *Pi-tang-un.*
Fish, dried. *I-nang-kag sE-da.*
Fish net. *Gi-yud,* a small, light net that one or two men can manage; *pa-sa-wit,* large net.
Five. *Li-ma.*
Floor. *Sa-leg.*
Flute. *Teng-gab; su-ling.* The *teng-gab* is the longer variety. Neither kind is very common around Sindangan Bay.
Following (adjective). *GE-let.*
Food. *Ga-an.*
Foot. *GhE-sud* or *gokh-sud.*
Footprint. *Bi-na-ya.*
Forehead. *Gang-as.*
Fork. *Sun-dai ga-an.*
Forty. *Pat pu-lu;* fifty, *li-ma pu-lu,* etc.
Four. *U-pat.*
Friend. *Bi-la.*
Funeral festival (the final and most important one). *Pu-lun-túh* or *po-lon-toh.*
Fur (or hair). *Bum-bul,* e. g., *bum-bul bi-ring,* cat's fur; this word is not used of human hair.
Garden. *Pi-mu-la-En.*
Glass (for drinking). *Ba-su* (Spanish).
Goat. *An-ding.*
God (applied to many spirits). *Di-wa-ta* (Sanskrit).
Goitre. *Bu-yun.*
Gold. *Bu-la-wan.*
Granary. *Lu-lu.*
Grave (in the ground). *Lu-bung.*
Gray. *Ga-bu.*
Green. *ME-la-nau.*
Guitar. *Ku-ta-pi;* made of wood with strings usually of *abaka; si-gi-tan;* made of bamboo; the strings are strips of the bamboo itself raised on little bridges.
Gun (musket). *Si-na-pang.*
Gunpowder. *Ma-li-lang.*
Hair. *Ku-la-gu,* body hair; *bu-uk.*
Hammock (or cradle). *Pu-yu-wan.*
Hand. *Ka-mut.*
Hand, back of. *Di-ba-bau pa-lad.*
Hat. *Tu-rung.*
Hawk-bell. *Tung-ka-ling.*
He, she. *I-in.*
Head. *Go-lo* or *gu-lu;* head of household, *gu-sug neg ba-lai.*
Headman. *Ti-mu-ai.*
Head ornament (abaka or grass added to woman's hair). *Pa-so-bong.*
Heart. *Pu-sung.*
Heel. *SE-El.*
Hide. *Ga-nit;* while on the animal, *pa-nit* (the same word as for "skin").
Hip. *Ta-bing.*
Hog. *Ba-bui;* wild hog, *ba-bui ta-lun.*
Honey. *Te-nEb.*
Hornbill. *Ka-lau.*
Horse. *Ka-ba-yu* (Spanish).
Hundred, one. *Ma-ga-tus;* one hundred and ten, *ma-ga-tus bu sa-pu-lu,* etc.
I. *A-ú.*
Instep. *Di-ba-bau- nEkh pa-la-pa.*
Intestines. *Ti-nĕ-ĕ.*
Iron. *Put-au.*
Jacket. *Su-uk.*

Joint. *LE-lEn-gu-an.*
Juice. *Ta-gEk.*
Jungle cock. *Li-man-sad li-bu-yu.*
Jungle hen. *Da-lu-an li-bu-yu.*
Kid. *Na-ti nEg an-ding.*
Kidney. *Bung-a.*
Knee. *Takh tu-ai.*
Knife. (1) *GhEgh* (initial guttural is strongly sounded, sometimes more like *kh* than *gh*). This is a knife in general household use, but its special purpose is for reaping. The back has a slight upward projection which has a slight depression. The index finger is placed in this depression, and the head of rice is brought between the thumb and the blade). (2) *Pĕs*, large chopping knife used in agricultural operations. (3) *Lo-ót*, woman's knife, a small article used in the household.
Knife-edge. *Ba-ba* (same word as for 'mouth').
Knife handle. *Su-bung-an.*
Knife point. *Su-ung* (same word as for 'nose').
Knuckle. *Bugh-u* or *bu-ku tun-duh* or *tEn-duh;* space between knuckles, *bo-bo-na-yan nEkh tEn-duh.*
Ladder. *Pag-hat; gEg-dan,* means notched log used as a ladder from the ground to the doorway.
Lard. *Ma-ti-a; man-tE-ka* (borrowed from Spanish through Bisayas); *la-na nEg ba-bui.*
Leg. *Pa-a;* leg above knee, *pu-un pa-a;* leg below knee, *lin-ti-san.*
Lemon. *Pu-mu-tul; ma-li-nau.*
Light (noun). *Su-lu.*
Lip. *Da-ru-mug.*
Liver. *Ga-tai.*
Loom. *BE-lEn.*
Lung. *Lo-okh.*
Man. *Le-e; gE-tau,* general term.
Mat. *Dam-dam,* generic term.
Match, friction. *Gis-pu-ro* (corruption of Spanish "fósforo").
Meal. (corn). *LE-pEt; bE-gas ma-is.*
Meat. *Gu-nud.*
Medicine man or woman. *Ba-li-an.*
Mid-forenoon. *Tas-En-dau* ("high sun").
Midnight. *Gi-nEng-a gE-bi.*
Milk. *Ga-tas.*
Mirror. *Sa-la-min.*
Moment (of time). *DE-li-ai.*
Money. *SE-la-pi.*
Monkey. *Gu-tung.*
Moon. *Bu-lan.* Phases of the moon are known as follows: Waxing, first quarter of moon, ☽, *bata bulan;* second quarter of moon, ☽, *gEktu bata bulan;* third quarter of moon, ☺, *minsan liu;* full moon, ●, *mandawan.* Waning, three-quarter moon, ☹, *gEktu gulang bulan;* half moon, ☾, *minsan liu gulang bulan;* quarter moon, ☾, *dua liu;* no moon at night, ○, *mipupus.*
Morning. *Si-sE-lEm.*
Mortar. *Lu-sung.*
Mosquito-net. *Ku-lam-bu.*
Mound-builder bird (tabon). *Lang-ag.*
Mouth. *Ba-ba.*
Mud. *Ba-sak.*
Navel. *Pu-sud* or *pu-su.*
Neck. *Lehg,* for anterior aspect; and *ti-un-go,* for posterior aspect.
Necklace. *Bi-tE-ghEl.*
Needle. *TE-E.*
Nine. *Si-am.*
Nipple. *Ek-si-pan.*
Noon. *GEktu gEn-dau.*
Nose. *So-ong* or *su-ung,* sometimes contracted to *sūng;* ridge of, *ba-tang so-ong;* septum of, *i-mud so-ong;* interior of, *gEg-bad so-ong.*
Now. *Nan-dau; nu-mun ghi-ni.*
Olla. *Gu-lEn,* when large; *gEn-lit,* when small.
One. *Sa-la* or *sa-a.*
One-half. *TEng-a; gi-nEng-a.*
Once. *Min-san.*
Onion. *Sa-bi-li-no.*
Palate. *Dan-a-an.*
Palm of hand. *Pa-lad.*
Papaw. *Pa-yas.*
Part, a. *Ba-hin; ba-ha-gi.*
Path. *Da-lan.*
Pepper. *Se-lih.*
Person. *GE-tau.*
Pestle. *GE-lu.*
Petticoat, short. *Ta-pis EM-pe-tEk.*
Pig. *Ba-bui,* general term; *ti-nuk-sukh,* weaned, but still small; *bukh-tin,* sucking pig.

Pigeon (or dove, wild). *Ma-na-tad;* household dove, *ma-la-pa-ti;* young of domestic dove, *gak-pis ma-la-pa-ti.*
Pillow. *Gu-lu-an.*
Pipe (of any material). *Si-gu-pan.*
Pipe-stem. *Si-lup.*
Place. *Ba-wang.*
Plate. *Ping-gan; la-in-pai,* a small plate or a saucer.
Plow. *Bad-ya* (known by Sindangan Bay Subanuns from seeing them used by Filipinos; none in use among pagan Subanuns).
Pork. *Gu-nud ba-bui.*
Post. *Pa-sEkh,* applied to posts set in ground and supporting house.
Pupil of the eye. *Gi-no-tau.*
Red. *Gum-pu-la* or *gEm-pu-la.*
Rib. *Ghu-suk.*
Rice. *Pa-lai,* unhusked; *bE-gas,* husked; *gEmai,* boiled.
Rice beer. *Ga-si.*
Rich man. *Lĕ-ĕ nEkh sE-li-pi-an; lĕ-ĕ nEkh ban-di-an.*
Ring (for finger). *Si-sing;* for arm, *ling-git.*
Rock, stone. *Ba-tu.*
Roof. *Ga-tEp.*
Rump. *Bok-tol* or *buk-tul; ghu-ging.*
Saliva. *Du-la.*
Salt. *Ma-a-sin.*
Sand. *GE-lis.*
Scraper. *Li-san.*
Seven. *Pi-tu.*
Sew. *Me-nEh* or *me-nEg.*
Shanty (hut). *Lu-dan.*
Shield (general word). *La-sag;* round shield, *ta-ming.*
Shirt (or jacket). *Sūk.*
Shower, rain. *Du-pi.*
Shoulder. *Ba-ga.*
Shoulder-blade. *BE-la-ghEl.*
Shuttle. *Si-yu-an.*
Sieve. *Du-nu-kun,* made of cloth.
Silver. *SE-la-pi.*
Six. *Gu-num* or *gu-nom.*
Skin. *Pa-nit.*
Slave. *U-li-pun* or *gu-li-pun.*
Smoke. *GE-bEl.*
Smoke-hole. *BEng-a-wan nEg gE-bEl.*
Sole of foot. *Pa-la-pa.*
Son. *Ba-ta; ba-ta nEg lĕ-ĕ.*
Soot. *Ga-gui.*
Soul (spirit). *Gi-mu-kud;* sometimes the *k* is dropped and the two *u*'s are contracted into one.
Sow. *La-na-yan,* young; *bo-le-og or bu-lo-og,* a mother sow.
Spear (for fishing). *Sa-la-pang.*
Spine. *TE-lin-ting.*
Spinning wheel. *Tink-i-lan* or *ting-i-lan.*
Spring. *Tu-bud.*
Stomach. *Ti-bo-a.*
Sugar. *Bi-na-gEl.*
Sunrise. *Su-mi-bang nE gEn-dau.*
Sunset. *Sin-dEp gEn-dau.*
Sweat. *Gu-las.*
Tablespoon (wooden). *San-dukh.*
Tail. *Gi-kud* or *gi-gud.*
Tattooing. *Pa-tikh; li-lukh.*
Ten. *Sa-pu-lu* or *pu-lu.*
Thirty. *Tu-lu pu-lu;* forty, *pat pu-lu;* etc.
Thou. *Ya-a.*
Thousand, one. *Song-i-bu.*
Thread. *Ta-nud.*
Three. *Tu-lu.*
Throat. *Lang-ag.*
Thumb. *Ka-li-ba-lu.*
Tobacco. *Ta-ba-ghu.*
To-day. *Nan-au gEn-dau.*
Toe. *Gho-ya-mEt ghE-sud;* great toe, *ka-li-ba-lu ghE-sud;* little toe, *gho-an-ghai ghE-sud.*
To-morrow. *LE-ma.*
Tongue. *Di-la.*
Tooth. *Ngi-si.*
Torch. *Su-lu.*
Town. *Lun-sud; bE-nu-a,* general term, equally applicable to town, region, country, etc.
Trousers. *Sal-wal.*
Turban. *Pan-yu.*
Twice. *Ka-du-a;* numeral adverbs denoting repetition, like twice, thrice, etc., are regularly formed by prefixing *ka* to the cardinal form. The word for 'once' is an exception.
Twelve. *Sa-pu-lu bu du-a,* etc., for numbers up to twenty.
Twenty. *Du-a pu-lu.*
Twins. *Ga-pid.*
Two. *Du-a.*
Vein (or artery). *Gu-gat.*
Vertebra. *Ti-lin-ting.*

Village. (1) *Gam-pu* nEg *ba-lai;* means a group of four or five houses, the largest vicinal unit to be found in the Sindangan Bay region. (2) *Bawang.*

Wailing (at funerals). *So-gau* or *su-gau.*

War. *Gu-bat.*

War cry. *Buk-sai.*

Water. *Tu-big.*

We. (1) Exclusive of the auditor, *gami* or *a-mi.* (2) Inclusive of the auditor, *gi-ta* or *i-ta.*

Weave. *Ti-ni-na.*

West wind. *Ba-lat.*

White. *GEm-pu-ti.*

Widow. *Ba-lu.*

Widower. *Ba-lu.* Ordinarily the same word is used for "widow" and "widower." In case of possible confusion, the words *nEg li-bun* are added when "widow" is meant, and *nEg lĕ-ĕ* when "widower" is meant.

Windpipe. *Ga-gEn.*

Woman. *Li-bun.*

Womb. *Gi-nu-bung-an.*

Wrist. *Pi-nu-gu-lan.*

Year. *Tu-un* or *tūn.*

Yellow. *Ma-da-lEg.*

Yesterday. *La-bung.*

You (plural). *Ga-mu* or *a-mu.*

WORD-LIST FROM NUEVA REUS, ZAMBOANGA PENINSULA

Abaka. *La-nut.*

Again. *Pu-li mu-sop.*

All. *Lam-nEn.*

Also. *Do-sop.*

America. *Me-li-ka.*

And. *Bu.*

Ant. *Pi-la.*

Baby. *Ba-ta ba-ta.*

Bachelor. *Li-tau.*

Bait. *Gum-pan.*

Ball. *Si-pa.*

Basket. *Ton-gha-lang.*

Beautiful. *Ba-is;* Em-*ba-is.*

Because. *Sa-bab* (Arabic word borrowed through Moros).

Bell. *Bas-ting.*

Below. *Suk-si-lung.*

Bird (general word). *Ma-nuk.*

Bird, small. *Ma-nuk ma-nuk.*

Biting (said of pepper). *Ma-la-las.*

Bitter. *Um-pet.*

Bitterness. *Gha-pet-nEn.*

Blue. *Bi-lu.*

Blueness. *Gha-bi-lu-nEn.*

Black. *Mi-tEm.*

Blackness. *GhE-tEm-nEn.*

Boat. *Tun-da-an.*

Bottle. *LE-lE-nan.*

Bowl. *Pa-lak-san.*

Boy. *Ba-ta la-ki,* "child" or little male.

Boy (around age of puberty, but not considered old enough to marry). *Bo-gu-tau.*

Book. *Ghu-la-an* or *ku-la-an* (borrowed from Arabic through Moros).

Branch. *Pang-a-nEn.*

Brave. *Bo-lu, mo-gho-bo-lu.*

Breast. *E-dob.*

Brook. *Sa-pa sa-pa.*

Brother. *Gi-lu-gu* (*nog la-ki*).

Buffalo. *Gha-la-bau.*

Buy. *Su-ma-lui.*

By and by. *So ga-na ga-na.*

Cage. *Ghu-lung-an.*

Cat. *GhE-ding.*

Chair. *Si-ya* (Spanish).

Chicken, small. *Gi-tit.*

Child. *Ba-ta.*

Children. *GEm-ba-ta.*

Church. *Sim-ba-han.*

Cigarette. *Si-gu-pan,* made of tobacco and corn-husk, nipa leaf, or banana leaf.

Cloth. *Ki-no-po-tan.*

Coconut. *Ni-ug.*

Coconut-milk. *Tu-big* nEng *ni-ug.*

Cogon. (See *Kogon grass.*)

Corn. *Ma-is.*

Cow. *Sa-pi.*

Cowardly. *Ma-ta-lan.*

Cup. *Sa-wan.*

Day. *GEn-dau.*

Deep. *ME-dE-lEm.*

Dog. *Ga-yam.*

Door. *Lang-a-an.*

Drum. *Gan-dang; tam-bul* (Spanish, tambor); *ta-la-bi,* long drum used by priests of Sindangan Bay and perhaps elsewhere.

Ear. *Ta-ling-a.*

Earth (soil). *Lu-pa.*

Egg. *Bu-ling-a.*

Eight. *Wa-lu.*
Eye. *Ma-ta.*
Eyebrow. *GhELEy.*
Fat. *Mo-lom-bu.*
Father. *Ga-ma.*
Father-in-law. *Po-nung-ang-an.*
Fear. *Ta-lan.*
Field, plowed. *BEg-ya-an;* unplowed, such as *kaingin, bi-na-lan.*
Finger. *Gho-ya-mET.*
Fire (in general sense). *A-pui;* in sense of conflagration, *di-nok-su-lan.*
Fish. *So-da.*
Fisherman. *Po-lo-mong-wit.*
Five. *Li-ma.*
Floor. *Sa-log.*
Flower. *Bu-lak.*
Fly (the insect). *Lang-au.*
Foot. *Bo-tis.*
Four. *Pat.*
Fowl (in general). *Ma-nuk.*
Fruit. *Bung-a.*
Gate (door). *Bung-u-an.*
Girl (not old enough to marry). *Ba-ta li-bun* ("little woman").
Gold. *Bu-lu-an.*
Good. *Pi-a.*
Grandchild. *Ga-pu.*
Grandfather. *Ga-pu.*
Gray. *Mo-go-bul* or *mo-gEbEl.*
Grayness. *Ka-go-bul-nEn.*
Green. *Mo-lu-nan.*
Greenness. *Gha-lu-nau-nEn.*
Ground. *Lu-pa; sa-lau.*
Hand. *GhE-mET.*
Happy. *LE-lE-yag.*
Heart. *Pu-sung.*
Heat (imperative of verb, second person singular). *In-it-mu.*
Heat (noun). *Gi-nit.*
He. *YEn,* or *ghE-yEn.*
Hen. *Du-lung-an.*
Here. *Di-ni.*
Hill. *Bu-lud;* low hill, *bu-lud bu-lud.*
Horse. *Ghu-da.*
Hot. *Mi-nit.*
House. *Ba-lEy.*
Husband. *La-gi.*
I. *A-ghEn.*
Ink. *Da-wat.*
Jacket. *LEg-dEy; gha-wal.*
Jar. *Si-bu-lan;* small jar, *si-bu-lan si-bu-lan.*
Kerchief or turban. *Pang-yu.*
Khaki-color. (1) (Adjective), *Ghan-sur;* (2) (noun), *ka-ghan-su-nen.*
Kogon grass. *Padang.*
Ladder (consisting of notched log). *Gug-dan.*
Lamb. *Na-ti nEg bi-li bi-li.*
Land (country, region). *BE-nu-a.*
Large (great). *Ma-sa-lag.*
Largeness (greatness). *Gha-sa-lag-nEn.*
Leaf. *Da-wEn.*
Lean. *Ma-lang-as.*
Letter. *Su-lat.*
Light (torch). *Su-lu.*
Log. *Ba-tang.*
Long. *Ma-ya-ba.*
Maiden. *Da-la-ga.*
Man (person). *GhE-tau.*
Mango. *Man-pa-lam.*
Many. *Ma-da-ghEl.*
Mary. *Ma-li-a.*
Milk. *Ga-tas.*
Monkey. *Gu-tung;* female monkey, *li-bung u-tung;* baby monkey, *ba-tit;* half-grown monkey, *tong-dug pang-a.*
Moon. *Bu-lan.*
Morning, early. *Di-sE-lum;* late morning, *tas-En-dau* ("high sun").
Mother. *Gi-na.*
Mother-in-law. *Po-nung-ang-an.*
Mountain. *Dung-us.*
Mountainous region. *GhE-dung-us-an.*
Mouse. *Gi-bas gi-bas.*
Mouth. *Ba-ba.*
Name. *Nga-lan.*
Nest. *Sa-lag* or *sa-lang.*
Night. *GE-bi.*
Nine. *Si-am.*
No, not. *Da, di.*
Noon. *La-la-bung.*
Nose. *Sūng.*
Now. *Nu-mung ghi-tu.*
Old. *Ma-gu-lang.*
On. *Di-ba-bau.*
One. *Sa* or *i-sa; sa-la-buk. Sa* or *i-sa* is used in counting; *sa-la-buk* is usually accompanied by a noun, expressed or understood.
Ox. *Sa-pi la-ghi.*
Picture (image). *La-da-wan.*
Pig. *Ba-bui.*
Place. *Ba-wang.*

Place of hills (hilly region). *Gha-bu-lud-an.*
Platter, brass. *Ta-lam.*
Play. *Meg-le-met.*
Plow. *Bag-ya.*
Poor. *Mis-kin-an.*
Purple. *Ta-luk.*
Purpleness. *Ga-ta-luk-nen.*
Queen. *Li-bun nekh ha-di* or *ha-di-li-bun.*
Rain. *Du-pi.*
Rat. *To-ghu-bung.*
Read. *Ku-la-an* (from Arabic through Moros).
Red. *Gom-pu-la.*
Redness. *Gha-pu-la-nen.*
Region of kogon grass. *Pa-dang-an.*
Rice, unhusked. *Pa-lai.*
Ripe. *Mi-mug.*
River. *Tu-big; tu-big ma-sa-lag.*
Rope. *Ta-li.*
Roof. *Ga-top.*
Round. *Ma-li-pu-tut.*
Sail. *La-yag.*
Sea. *Da-gat.*
Sell. *Pok-sa-lui.*
Seven. *Pi-tu.*
She. *Yen* or *ghe-yen; li-bun ghe-yen.*
Sheep. *Bi-li bili.*
Ship (propelled by sails). *Gha-pal la-yag.*
Shower, light. *Pu-si-lau.*
Sister. *Gi-lu-gu* (*nog li-bun*).
Six. *Ge-num.*
Sky. *Lang-it.*
Small. *Mi-gha-a* or *mi-gha-an; ba-ta ba-ta.*
Smallness. *Gha-bi-gha-nen.*
Smooth. *Me-le-nin.*
Soldier. *Sun-da-lu.*
Soul. *Gi-mu-kud.*
Sour. *Mo-som.*
Sourness. *Gho-som-nen.*
Spider. *Ba-ling-gha-wa.*
Star. *Bi-tun.*
Steamer. *Gha-pal a-pui* ("fire ship").
Stem. *Pa-ka-nen.*
Stick. *Ga-pud.*
Sun. *Gen-dau.*
Sunshine. *Pe-des.*
Supper (evening meal). *Lo-bung-an.*
Sweet. *Ma-mis.*
Sweetness. *Ghe-mis-nen.*
Tall (high). *Ma-tas.*
Teacher. *Gu-lu.*
Ten. *Sa-pu-lu.*
They. *I-lan.*
This. *Ghi-ni; ghe-ni-ya; ghe-ni-a-ya.*
Thou. *I-gha.*
Three. *Tu-lu.*
Tired. *Lo-pu-gu.*
Toe. *Gho-ya-met.*
To-morrow. *Be-le-ma.*
Tree. *Gha-yu.*
Trousers (generic word). *Sal-wal; gha-wes*, tight and reaching to ankles, in Sulu and Samal style; *ghan-ti-u*, loose, in Chinese style; *li-wa-ga-pa*, like preceding, but drawn around waist with string; *sang-ya-wa*, old fashioned Subanun trousers, reaching to knees only.
Two. *Du-a.*
Umbrella. *Pa-yung.*
Under (or within). *Di-a-lum.* Under the water, *dia-lum nokh tubig.*
Very, very much. *Ma-da-ghel.*
Water. *Tu-big.*
Water jar. *Si-ge-ban.*
We (exclusive). *A-mi;* inclusive, *i-ta* or *ghi-ta.*
Well (noun). *Tim-ba.*
West. *Sin-dup-an.*

WORD-LIST FROM PANG-PANG, DUMANKILAS BAY[1]

Adam's apple. *Ge-gen.*
Animal, domestic. *Pa-tu-bu-un.*
Ant. *Pi-la.* There are also special names for different varieties.
Arm. *Ben-ghen.*
Armpit. *Gi-lek.*
Arm, upper. *Ma-ge-le-a-bed.*
Aunt. *I-na* or *gi-na.*
Baby. *Ba-ta.*
Back. *Lo-hud.*
Backbone. *Ta-ling-ting.*
Bad. *Ma-lat.*
Bay. *Li-nok.*
Belly. *Ti-yan.*
Betel box. *Timpa; ta-lun.*
Betel-nut. *Ma-ew;* the slices are *gi-bas.*

[1] Made at Pang-Pang by the writer in 1905.

Bolo. *Pes,* ordinary working knife; *pi-nu-ti,* bolo of good workmanship, not used in field labors, but as a weapon.
Breastbone. *Gi-busi-bus.*
Brother. *Te-li-pu-sud; pa-ted.*
Brow. *Gang-as.*
Buffalo. *Gha-la-bau.*
Calf of leg. *Ti-yan pu-su.* Bone to which calf is attached, *be-lin-tis.*
Candle. *Lan-suk.*
Cat. *Ku-ting.*
Cheek. *Mu-ru.*
Chest (of person). *Ge-deb.*
Chicken. *Ma-nuk,* general word; small chicken, *po-su-i.*
Chin. *Se-lang.*
Cock. (1) Domestic, *li-man-sad;* (2) wild, *la-bu-yu.*
Country (region, settlement). *Ben-wa.*
Creek. *Sa-pa; ba-ta tu-big; tu-big tu-big;* small creek, *sa-pa sa-pa.*
Daughter. *Ba-ta, ba-ta li-bun.*
Day. *Gen-dau.*
Dog. *Gi-tu;* puppy, *ba-ta i-tu.*
Elbow. *Si-u.*
Enemy. *Ban-ta.*
Eye. *Ma-ta.*
Eyebrow. *Gi-lai.*
Eyelash. *Pe-lek.*
Finger. *Ghe-met* (generic word); *gheng-hang-ai,* ring finger; *pa-la-ma-nis,* index finger; *da-tu tin-du,* middle finger; *gha-lu-ba-lu,* thumb.
Fire. *Ga-pui.*
Fire-making apparatus. *Pu-las,* consists of two pieces of bamboo which are rubbed together.
Fish. *Sa-da* (general word).
Fishhook. *Bung-wit.*
Foot. *Ge-sud.*
Friend. *La-gi.*
Goat. *Kam-bing.*
Gold. *Bu-la-wan.*
Good. *Pi-a; gem-pi-a; ba-is; ma-lang-as.*
Hair. *Buh.*
Hand. *Ghe-met.*
Head. *Gu-ru.*
Hen. *Dal-wan.*
Horse. *Ku-ra.*
Hot (heated). *Pi-ne-ten; ma-i-nit.*
Jar. *Ban-di.*
Knee. *Du-lud;* hollow under knee, *le-le-tek.*
Ladder. *Pa-hat;* notched log more commonly used to get into Subanun houses, *gug-dan.*
Land, earth (as distinguished from water). *Lu-pa.*
Leaf. *Do-un.*
Lime. *Ga-pug.*
Light. *Pe-des, pang-an-dau.*
Lines of hand. *Ku-lis.*
Lip. *Bi-big.*
Man (in sense of "male"). *La-i;* in general sense, *tau;* and more commonly *gi-tau.*
Maiden. *Da-la-ga.*
Mat. *Sa-pi-ai,* made of split bamboo; *gi-ham,* made of leaves of the screw pine.
Milk. *Ga-tas.*
Monkey. *Gu-tung.*
Month. *Bu-lan* (moon).
Moon. *Bu-lan.*
Mother. *Gi-na* or *i-na.*
Mother-in-law. *Pe-nu-gang-an nog li-bun.*
Mouth. *Ba-ba.*
Mustache. *Gu-mi* (is also applied to hair on chin).
Neck (back part). *Tin-hug.*
Neck (or throat). *Gle-eg.*
Nose. *Su-ung.*
Pair (of hands, ears, etc.). *Ma-gim-pang;* e. g., a pair of ears, *ma-gim-pang ta-ling-a.*
Palm of hand. *Pa-lad.*
Pestle. *Ge-lu.*
Pillow. *Gu-lu-an* (from *guru* or *gulu,* "head").
Reason (cause). *Sa-bab* (from Arabic through Moros).
Rib. *Gu-suk.*
Rice mortar. *Le-sun.*
Rice, unhusked. *Pa-lai;* when husked, *bu-gas;* when boiled, *ge-mey.*
Sail. *La-yag.*
Sea. *Da-gat.*
Sheep. *Bi-li bi-li.*
Shoulder. *Ba-ga.*
Side. *Ge-lid.*
Silver. *Pi-lak; sa-lapi.*
Smoke (noun). *Ge-bel.*
Sole of foot. *Pa-la-pa.*
Son. *Ba-ta.*

Spear (general word). *Ta-la-wan.* There are also several special names for the different varieties of spears. The following are some of them: (1) *SE-bat,* a hunting spear with a detachable head; shaped like an arrowhead and attached to the haft with a thong. (2) A spear with grooves in the blade. (3) *ti-na-la-gan,* a spear with a short, abrupt shoulder. (4) *li-ma-yas,* the commonest kind of spear, fitted with a head of moderate length, and smooth.

Spoon (for eating). *Su-li-dut;* coconut-shell spoon for stirring rice is *lo-ad.*

Spring of water. *Tu-bud; bu-al.*

Star. *Bi-tun.*

Tin. *Ta-tung.*

Tobacco box. *Ba-tang-an la-gET. La-gET* is a chewing mixture of tobacco, betel-nut and betel leaves.

Tongue. *Di-la.*

Tooth. *Ni-si.*

Tree. *Ga-yu.*

Uncle. *Ma-nak; gha-ya.* The difference is this; a man's brother's child will call him *ma-nak,* while his sister's child will call him *gha-ya.*

Water. *Tu-big.*

Wealth. *Ga-us.*

Wealthy. *Ma-ga-us.*

Why. *A-la-ik pu-na-nEn; a-la-ik sa bab.*

Wife. *Sa-wa.*

Year. *To-on.*

APPENDIX II

THE FIGHT BETWEEN ROMIWATA AND SURANDAL LALAKON

The following story is given in English and in the Subanun idiom as spoken in the immediate neighborhood of Sindangan Bay, a few kilometers to the northeast, with the purpose of giving some idea of its structure and phonetics. Tales of this sort abound among this tribe.

IN THE SUBANUN DIALECT.

Dun pagdungaurungau, si Sampilakon miitaon ik sakayan miglayag no gompula. Sinaon ni Tinayubu, "alaan ik tuyoon[1] ingma nun niyu nok sakayan?" Sinumbag ni Tinayubu, "ag gubat gusai ingma nun gatad nok ato; tuta pula pakpagau?" Loon ni Sampilakon "Dini pakpagau; minatong sak sabang sominalod." Miktalo si Sampilakon "aba! Tinayubu sominalod totoo sak sabangta ik sakayan sominoba dayan minatong sak tugbungan dominangan ing moloan nog datu tominood dayon sok ilihan, mitulan migingkud su gisED no gilihan so goklom nok salomaya migingkuran sog lasag miglilang nok ampilan; —ik tubig nilan walo ik sabang miktugda- ũ ig datu Surandal Lalakon." Miktawag si Surandal Lalakon: "Gimbon Tinayubu, ig Datu rEEn[2] sug balai angain no tumbaai rine, dibabau gilihan payat tuna rine." Loong ni Tinayubu: "Alaan ik putuagan-mu?" Loong pulom nog datu Surandal Lalakon "tuta ig datu sug balai angeen no tumbaon rine." Loong ni Tinayubu, "pugulat ta duli ongeen kopa ig datu tonoron pa solud nog buutanon." Minatong si Tinayubu, "Oh mighaa nog datu tanora doon ing minatong rine nog datu ongeen morau tumbaai." Ig datu sug Gilogaon, Romiwata. Loon ni Romiwata "talomo rito sog datu nong minatong sug dibabau nog gilihan, mogulat, doli onde saanta." Mipuli si Tinayubu dominongau nog datu nog mestalo mogulat ta rau dole ondapa molokayai si datu Romiwata. Loon nog datu Surandal Lalakon: "mogdali rali ai nupayat tuna rine." Si datu Romiwata migilogilog naroma monoong mupitang nog lasagEn bu no kampilanEn ig duma no Romiwata monoog si datu Tungabasing si Piksasoloi Bulawan, minoog sok silong tinoon dayon no Romiwata sog datu nog miginkud so goklom nok salumaya, minatong si Romiwata miglamano ilan dua ni Surandal Lalakon sok sala nilan nog palad, inolot nok pangyu bo onde oloton mogliga ik alibutan; sinak no Romiwata tuta migbuat nog bEnua Surandal Lalakon. Sominombag si Surandal Lalakon "buat pa sog malayu nog bEnua sug walo sabang mutugda." Talo ni datu Romiwata buat tamasog malayu nog bEnua, alaan ma ik tuyo-mu?" Sominombag si datu Surandal Lalakon, "ik tuyo orini moningil sug kalamonti bulawan migula tu guinaman." "Gatad dito no Tomolonon, ana nog utangan. Sombag ni Romiwata EEn loong balos si Tomolonon tuina onda poningilai." Sombag ni datu Surandal Lalakon "EEn pa ik pokponingil ini." Loong ni datu

[1] Pronounced as three syllables. [2] Pronounced as two syllables.

Romiwata "balus na gusai niyu." Loong polom ni datu Surandal Lalakon "bu balus nami pugindananta sok ampilan, bo mog daaga balus ik poningilon-u asalbo mog daago motood ik poningilon-u." Loong ni datu Romiwata "pogindananta, totai matai sok ilihan ini gasal malimbong, gatad buat sagapo ni Irag Bulawan ing bataon si Romiwata daai gutang, bu pagindanan sa ampilan sok pontaEn tomubu sog dibabau sog ilihan ana malimbong." Loong nog datu Surandal Lalakon "taE moguno somoot?" Somombag si datu Romiwata "ig gubat;" somenoot dayon si datu Surandal Lalakon tawan nok pilo bataon milibuat, tilan. Talo ni datu Romiwata "di amo mog lagala sog lawasu" namad ilan totoo pigalobangan nilan tawan dito sok pegingkoranon miglamag ig lawasEn sok mitonaan nok ampilan. Talo ni datu Surandal Lalakon "sumuli si datu Romiwata." Talo ni datu Romiwata "toma mibolai yana nog lawasu?" Sombog si datu Surandal Lalakon, "ana ra mibolai maad pagi go losan sog baba nok ampilan." Buat so datu Romiwata ilan tolo ma tawan go somoot si datu Romiwata moksod nog lasag ma a linongon nog lasag inimpit nog bulawan ondaay guinata-án. Mu tawag si Romiwata "O Surandal Lalakon andam-a ampilan-u ende motoo mogbasa alimogbog nog lawas ampilan." Loong ni datu Surandal Lalakon onde amog lagala inandam sog ni-á, tigbason ne datu Romiwata si datu Surandal Lalakon lomamag ig lawas ni datu Surandal Lalakon. Migbunu ilan ondaa nai toos nilan to, momook si datu Romiwata ik Tungabasing si Saloloi, inabang nilan amarai si datu Surandal Lalakon sondao ilan magbunu hasta dua Endau dopot sala semana hasta dua semana onda ing minatai niu sama ig goom nilan; hasta sa bulan migbunu ilan gusai. Loong ni datu Romiwata: "datu Surandal Lalakon nano matong ig lobayan-mu." Loong ni datu Surandal Lalakon, "bisan so toon butunga onde ó motoo molobai." Loong ni Surandal Lalakon, "ó sama lomoba nano matong ig lobayan-mu." Somombag si datu Romiwata "matong da ig lubayan-u bo mog lugulan o na;" migbunu na gusai ilan, abaal nilan mogbunu sapulu toon rua sobolan bo guinanga pat ondau, abaal nilan mogbunu migliga ik alibutan saba bilan mogbunu. Toman mogginaina, si Salangu Bulawan so goktuan; si Salangu Bulawan migawid nog lupa bu nog langit; loong si Salangu Bulawan: "ondonon pogbaal Embonan BEpigbakan ig gEtau elawan?" Loong Embonan BepEgbakan loong ni Salangu Bulawan, "oiton dito ik sulat dongan buat nog lupa; polong si Salangu Bulawan inoloton ak sulat nok pigutaran nog lupa inulat ni Salangu Bulawan ik palaron metuna sog dibabau nog ilihan mikpitang nok sulat dungau buat nog lupa; loong ni Salangu Bulawan, "Datu Romiwata pogonlongan-mu ik sulat dungan buat nog lupa." Dayon basai ni Datu Romiwata ik sulat dungan buat nog lupa-En ing mEbasanon dito nogon dee ilan mogbunu gasal ilan nog mag la aromana ni Surandal Lalakon, motod so alamonte bulawan inde sakal pogbunuan ig bandera nog gapu nilan. Loong ni datu Romiwata "o Surandal Lalakon basamu poloman ik sulat dungan buat nog lupa;" mabasanon, motod mog la aromana da ig gutoo. Loong ni datu Surandal Lalakon "mi enayakan ita sia mogbunu, bu ana si Solango Bulawan tampan gomolang mogbune onde moosai." Si datu Surandal Lalakon monuli ilan sog bEnua nilan; si datu Romiwata mEneu sog balayEn minuli sog bootanon. Si Salangu Bulawan minuli na sug langit inueton na sok sulat dundan buat nog lupa, mEbasa dito sok sulat onde pia mogbunu ig gEtau sog bEnua lo aromananda.

TRANSLATION OF THE FIGHT BETWEEN ROMIWATA AND SURANDAL LALAKON.

On looking down Sampilakon saw a boat with a red sail; Tinayubu asked, "What can be the object of a boat like that?" Sampilakon answered "War, as a boat so rigged has always meant." "Where, I wonder, is it going?" Tinayubu asked. Sampilakon replied: "It is coming here—oh, Tinayubu, it has reached the

mouth of our river and entered it; it has gone up and reached the landing place and many datus have landed and turned toward the hill-fort, and on reaching the top they have sat down on the edge of the hill-fort, and in the shade of the *salomaya* tree, on their shields, with their *kampilan* on their laps; their river has eight mouths;[3] facing the other chiefs is Surandal Lalakon."

Surandal Lalakon called out (saying) "Gimbon Tinayubu, the datu in the house there must come up here to me on the hill-fort to speak with me, for I have been here a long time." Tinayubu answered him: "What are you hiding for?" Surandal Lalakon answered, "Whoever the datu is in that house, (he) must come to see me." Tinayubu said, "Please wait, and I will go inside and bring the datu, who is on his bed." When Tinayubu reached the house he said, "Oh, little datu, wake up, for a datu has arrived who says you must go to see him." The datu of Gilogaon was Romiwata. Then Romiwata answered, saying, "Go to the datu who has arrived at the top of the hill-fort and tell him to wait a short time." Without delay, while the datu (Surandal Lalakon) was still looking down, Tinayubu returned to tell the other datu to wait a little because Datu Romiwata was not yet ready. Datu Surandal Lalakon said, "Let him hurry, for I have been here a long time." Then Datu Romiwata hastened to come down, carrying his shield and *kampilan;* his companions were Datus Tungabasing and Piksasoloi Bulawan. On coming down, Romiwata sought the place where the (stranger) datu was sitting down in the shade of that *salomaya* tree. Romiwata arrived (at the place); Surandal Lalakon and he gave hands, with a kerchief between the palms, for otherwise the world would have been on fire. Romiwata asked Surandal Lalakon, "From what place do you come?" Surandal answered, "I have just arrived from a distant land where there is a river with eight mouths." Romiwata said, "You have come from a far country, what is your object?" Datu Surandal Lalakon answered, "I have come here with the object of recovering that property, the golden *kalamonte* which was consumed here." Romiwata answered, "Tracing back matters to Tomolonon, there is no debt, your statement is a lie, for when Tomolonon was alive why was it not collected?" Datu Surandal Lalakon answered, "Now is the time to collect this." Romiwata said "This is certainly a lie of yours." And Datu Surandal Lalakon said, "Let us prove by *kampilan* whether this be a lie or not; if you should win, then I am trying to collect under false pretences, but if I should win, then my claim is just." Datu Romiwata said, "Whoever dies on the hill-fort will be of a race of cheats; from grandparents down to Irag Bulawan, whose son is Romiwata, there has never been any debt; if the point is to be tested by the *kampilan*, he who survives on top of the hill-fort is not a cheat." Datu Surandal Lalakon said, "Who dances first?" Romiwata replied, "The aggressor will dance first." Then Datu Surandal Lalakon began to dance at once; and all his followers stood up. Then Datu Romiwata said, "Do not spare your blows on my body;" so they (i. e., Surandal Lalakon and his companions) rained down *kampilan* blows on the place where Romiwata was seated; wherever the *kampilan* struck Romiwata's body it drew sparks. Datu Surandal Lalakon said, "Datu Romiwata, now requite the blows." Then Romiwata said, "Why, are you already tired of my body?" Surandal Lalakon answered: "I am not tired, but we will try the edge of the *kampilan* by turns." Then Datu Romiwata stood up, and the other two datus also, namely, Datus Tungabasing and Piksasoloi Bulawan, each one holding his shield. Romiwata danced, brandishing his shield—which seemed like gold—so that he could not be seen. Then Romiwata called out, "Oh,

[3] As will be shown in the course of the story, the river with eight mouths referred to is not the one in which their boat was, but one on whose banks the visiting datus lived at home.

Surandal Lalakon, be prepared for my *kampilan,* which is no respecter of persons, perhaps it will cut your body." Datu Surandal Lalakon said: "Let nothing hinder you, it is prepared for you." Then Datu Romiwata slashed at Datu Surandal Lalakon. But Datu Surandal Lalakon's body simply gave out sparks. So the three datus, Romiwata Tungabasing and Piksasoloi Bulawan fought confusedly, helping each other against Datu Surandal Lalakon. They fought one day, then two days, then a week, then two weeks, and still none died, their strength was equal; they continued fighting for a month. Then Datu Romiwata asked Datu Surandal Lalakon, "When will your weariness come?" Then Surandal Lalakon answered, "I could not get tired even in a year and a half. I ask you the same question, when will you get tired?" Datu Romiwata answered, "It will not fail to come when I shall be old." Then they continued to fight, and while they were fighting passed ten years, two months and a half, and four days. During the fight the world flamed up. Then Salangu Bulawan, at the zenith, prayed—Salangu Bulawan had control of earth and heaven—saying, "Embunan Bepigbakan, what can I do with the people of the world." Embunan Bepigbakan answered Salangu Bulawan, saying: "Take thither the writing coeval with the earth." Then Salangu Bulawan took the writing which was coeval with the world, went over the hill-fort, opened the writing on the palm of his hand and said: "Datu Romiwata, look at the writing coeval with world." Then Romiwata read the writing coeval with the world, and he read in it that they should not fight, because they were relatives, for he was of the same family as Surandal Lalakon, and that it was true that they should not quarrel over the golden *kalamonte* for it was the property of their (common) grandfather. Then Romiwata said, "Oh, Surandal Lalakon, you also read this writing coeval with the world." So it was read; it was true that the datus had the same ancestry. Surandal Lalakon said, "We might have continued to fight till old, without conciliation, had it not been for Salangu Bulawan." Datu Surandal Lalakon returned to his country, Datu Romiwata returned to his inside room; Salangu Bulawan went back to heaven, carrying back with him the writing coeval with the world. It said that the people of the earth should not fight because they were all of the same family.

APPENDIX III

PHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS OF SUBANUNS

Little anthropometry could be done by the writer among the Subanuns. They everywhere strongly objected to it, and as their goodwill and confidence were necessary if reliable information was to be obtained along other lines, the matter of physical measurements was not pressed. The women showed themselves especially averse to being measured, and none of the subjects whose measurements appear in the following brief table were women. It should be said, however, in this connection, that every year the Subanuns of certain regions, such, for example, as Dumankilas Bay, are becoming more accustomed to white men and acquiring more confidence in the Government, and it is probable that now, several years after the date of the writer's last residence among them, a sufficient number of Subanuns might be induced to submit to physical measurements to enable the investigator to draw up tables sufficiently extensive to be of importance. Such importance is not claimed for a moment for the table which follows. It is, however, given here in view of the great lack of data of this kind for the tribe in question. All individuals measured were adult men whose ages ranged from about 25 to 45.

Measurements taken at the mouth of Sindangan River, June 18, 1906.[1]

Height.	Span of arms.	Head.		Nose.		Cephalic index.	Nasal index.
		Length.	Breadth.	Length.	Breadth.		
1.63	1.67	.178	.140	.050	.042	78	84
1.56	1.66	.182	.143	.050	.040	78	80
1.63	1.60	.179	.147	.044	.042	81	95
1.63	1.70	.174	.147	.058	.040	84	69
1.65	1.67	.178	.152	.051	.038	85	74
1.60	1.59	.178	.147	.050	.037	82	74
1.72	1.76	.176	.152	.049	.038	86	77
1.57	1.65	.173	.140	.055	.040	80	72
1.57	1.60	.178	.140	.051	.037	78	72
1.56	1.60	.171	.145	.051	.039	84	76
1.67	1.77	.178	.152	.049	.038	85	77
1.56	1.65	.178	.147	.055	.040	82	72
1.67	1.71	.186	.152	.060	.041	81	68
1.60	1.67	.184	.152	.053	.041	82	77
1.65	1.70	.184	.157	.057	.045	85	78
1.52	1.53	.178	.161	.056	.038	90	67
1.63	1.70	.178	.147	.051	.037	82	72
1.57	1.62	.169	.143	.057	.038	84	66
1.60	1.62	.170	.145	.055	.037	85	67
1.56	1.58	.178	.144	.050	.040	80	80

[1] In terms of the meter.

1.

2.

3.

4.

Photos by Martin.

1 AND 2. SUBANUN TI-MU-AI (CHIEF) NAMED MANDÍ. SINDANGAN RIVER.

3 AND 4. SUBANUN. SINDANGAN RIVER.

1.

2.

3.

4.

Photos by Martin

1 AND 2. SUBANUN MAN. NEIGHBORHOOD OF SINDANGAN RIVER.

3 AND 4. SUBANUN MAN. SINDANGAN RIVER.

Photos by Martin.

SUBANUN MEN. SINDANGAN RIVER.

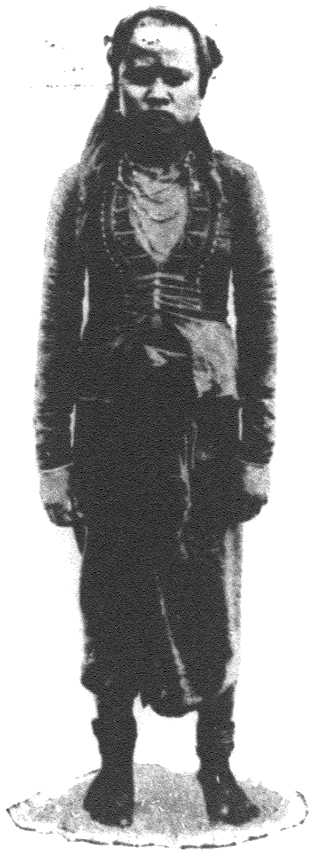
Photos by Martin.

SUBANUN WOMEN. SINDANGAN RIVER.

1.

2.

3.



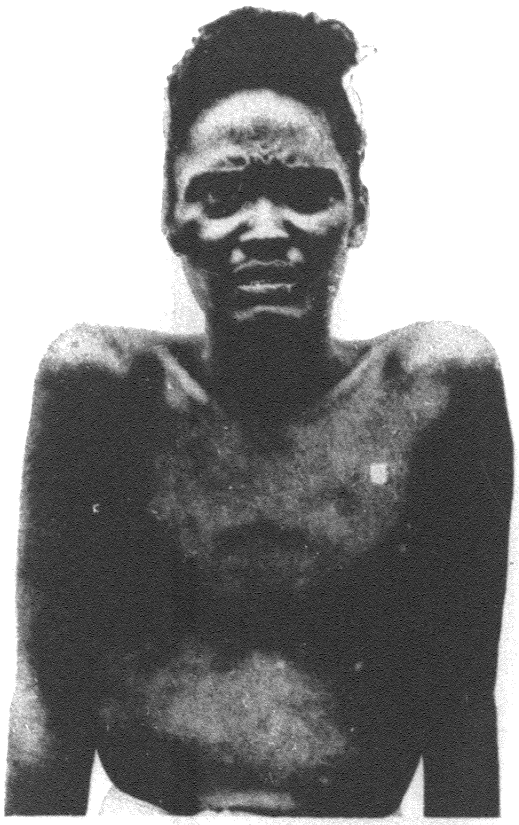
4.

Photos by Martin.

1 AND 2. SUBANUN WOMAN. SINDANGAN RIVER.

3. SUBANUN GIRL. SINDANGAN RIVER.

4. SUBANUN WOMAN. PEYÓ RIVER, A TRIBUTARY OF THE SINDANGAN.



1.

2.

3.

4.

Photos by Martin.

1 AND 2. SUBANUN MAN OF KALAKOL RANCHERIA. SINDANGAN BAY.

Note scars made by burning.

3 AND 4. SUBANUN YOUNG MAN. PEYÓ RIVER, A TRIBUTARY OF THE SINDANGAN.

1.

2.

3.

4.

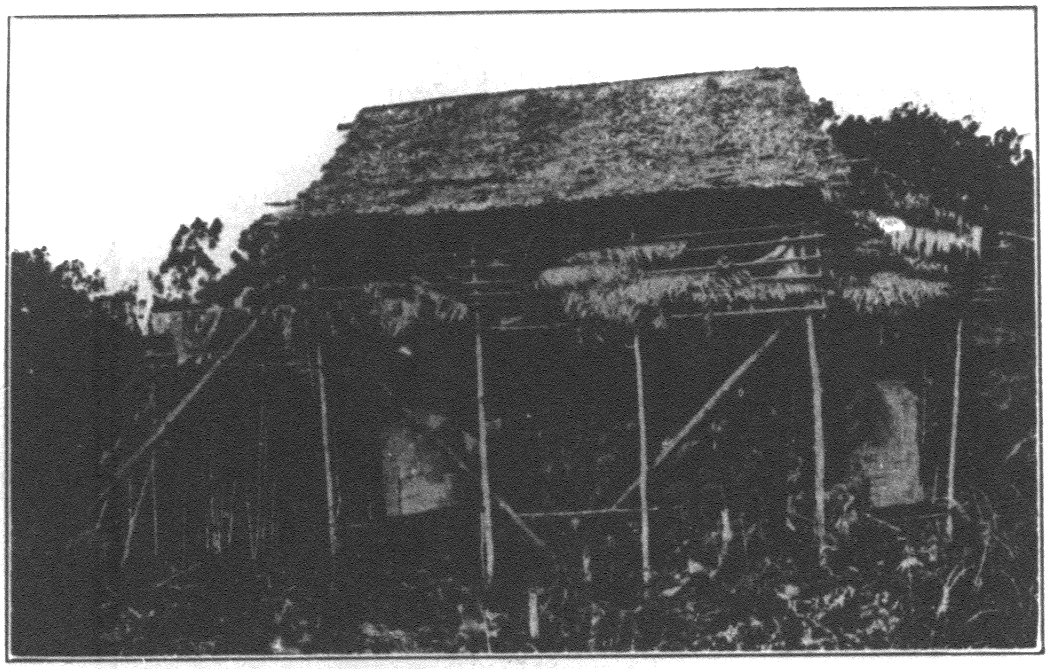
Photos by Martin.

1 AND 2. SUBANUN OF THE PEYÓ RIVER, A TRIBUTARY OF THE SINDANGAN.

3 AND 4. SUBANUN BLACKSMITH. PEYÓ RIVER.

Photos by Martin.

SUBANUN WOMEN. PEYÓ RIVER, A TRIBUTARY OF THE SINDANGAN.



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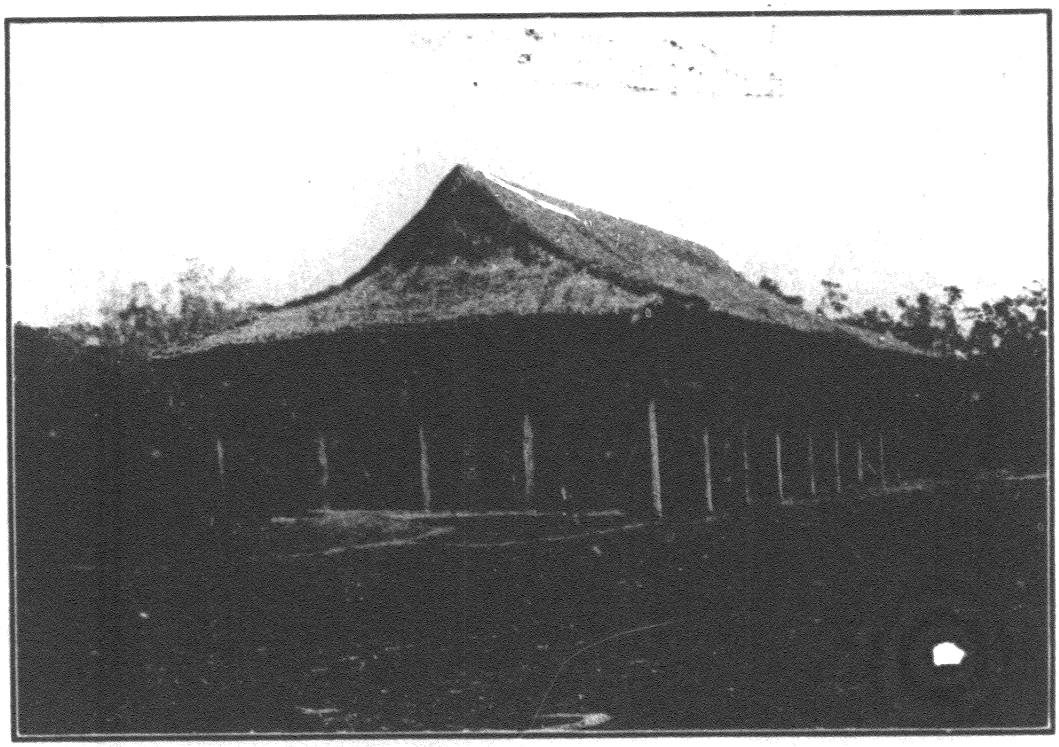


2.

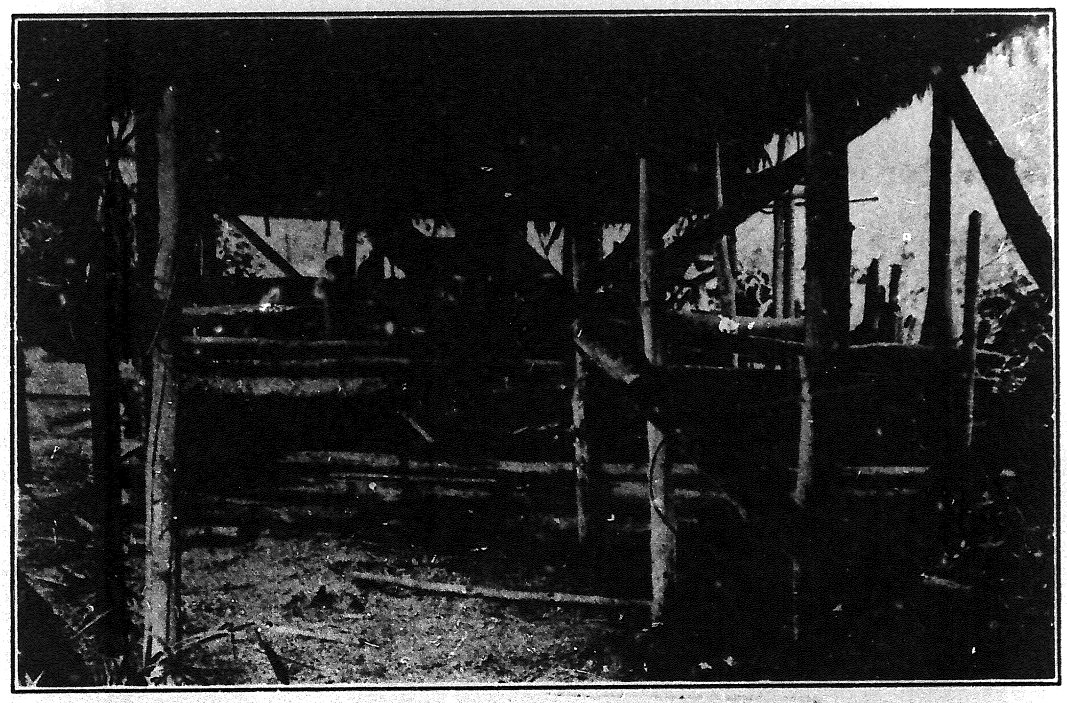
Photo 1 by Martin, 2 by Christie.

1. SUBANUN HOUSE ON THE PEYÓ RIVER, THREE HOURS' MARCH INLAND FROM SINDANGAN BAY.

Note notched log with hand rails.

2. HOUSE OF TIMUAI EMBING. PANG-PANG, DUMANKILAS BAY. APPROXIMATELY THIRTY METERS LONG AND TEN METERS WIDE.

Note thatch on side partially removed to let in light.



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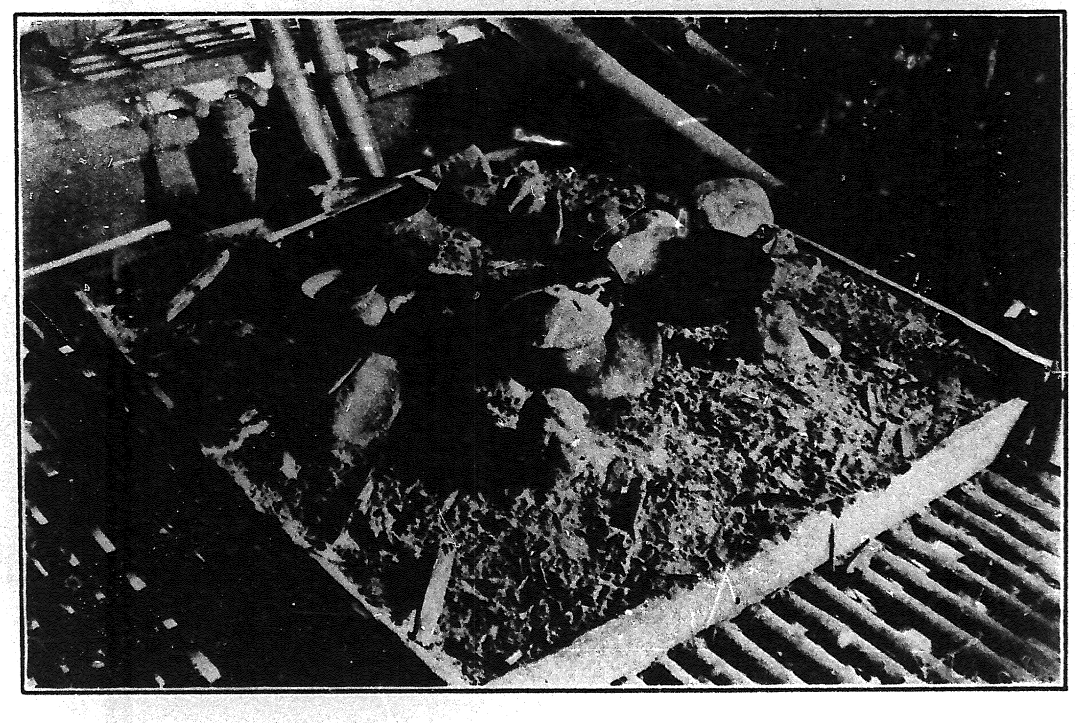

2.

Photos by Martin.

1. UNDER THE HOUSE OF CHIEF MANDÍ. SINDANGAN RIVER.
Note hen's nest and pigsty.

2. HEARTH IN HOUSE OF CHIEF MANDÍ. SINDANGAN RIVER.
Note bamboos for storing water.

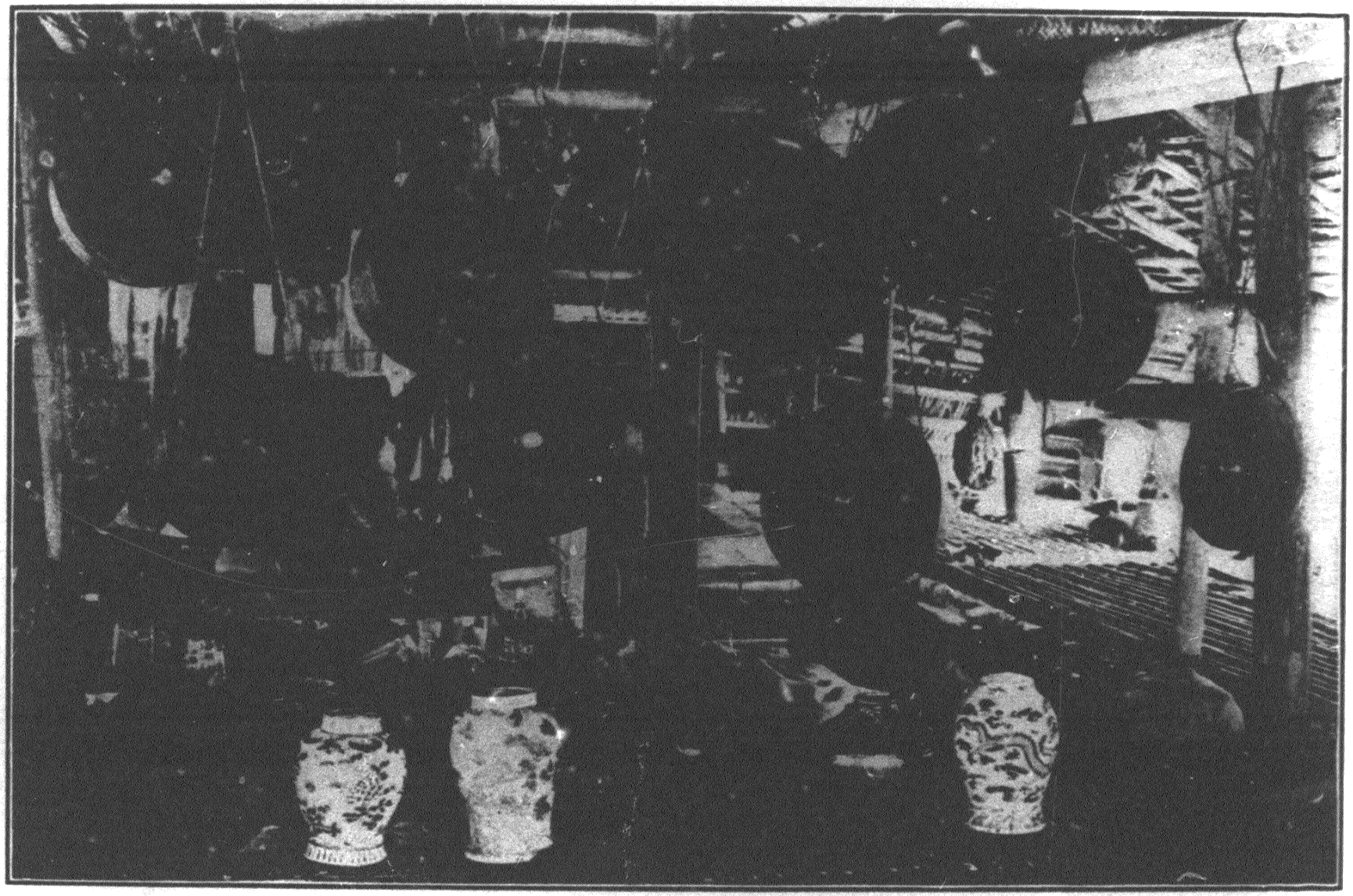

Photo by Martin.

INTERIOR OF HOUSE OF CHIEF MANDÍ. SINDANGAN RIVER.

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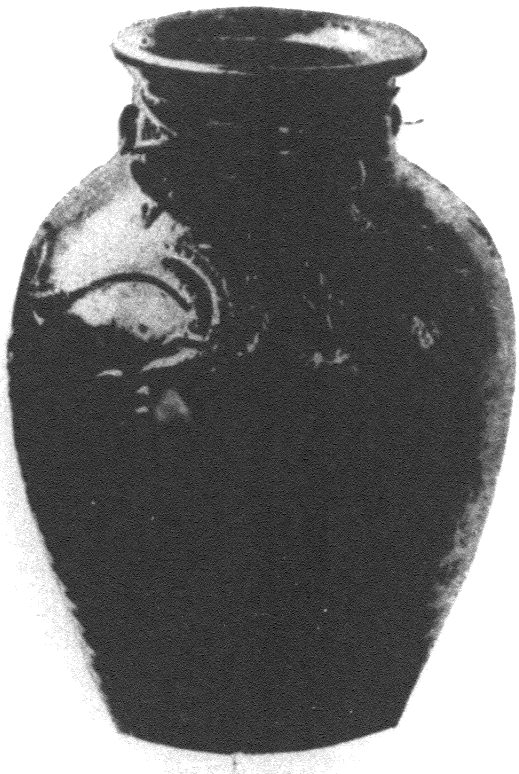

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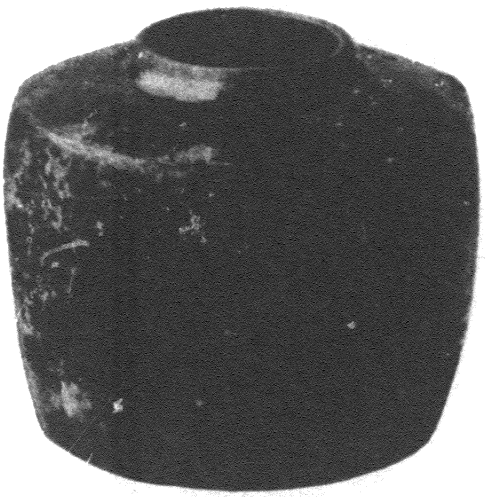

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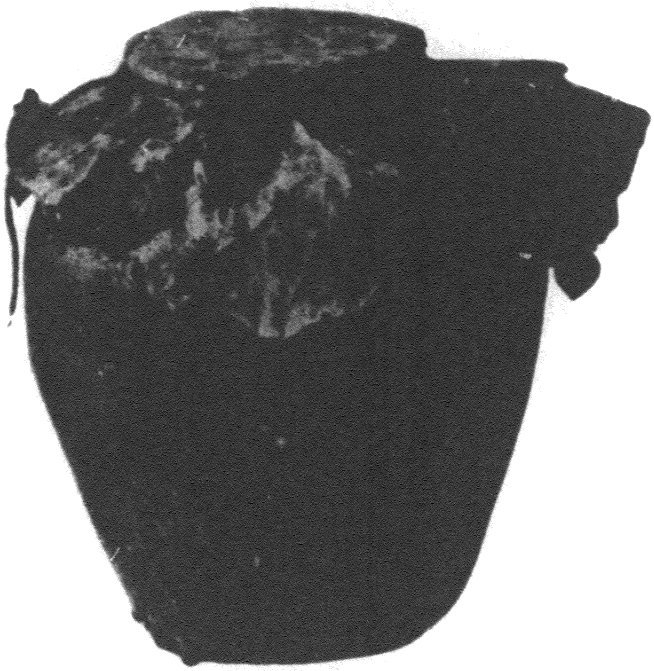
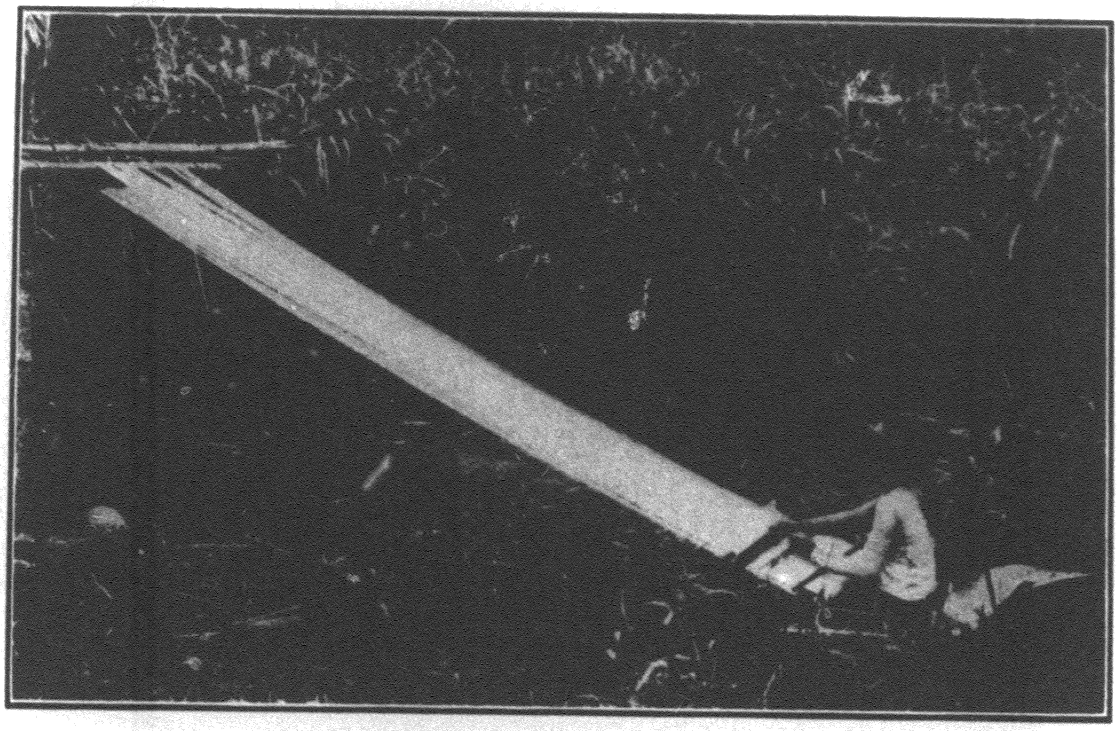


4.

Photos by Martin.

1 AND 2. CHINESE JARS IN HOUSE OF CHIEF MANDÍ. SINDANGAN RIVER.

3 AND 4. IMPORTED JARS, PROBABLY CHINESE, IN HOUSE OF A SUBANUN OF THE PEYÓ RIVER, A TRIBUTARY OF THE SINDANGAN.



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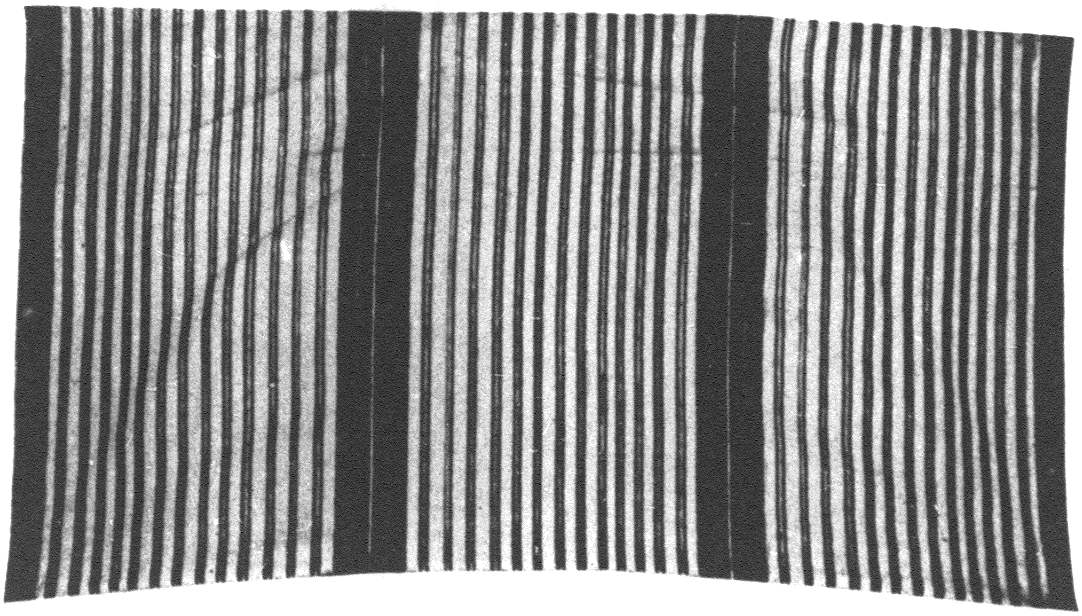
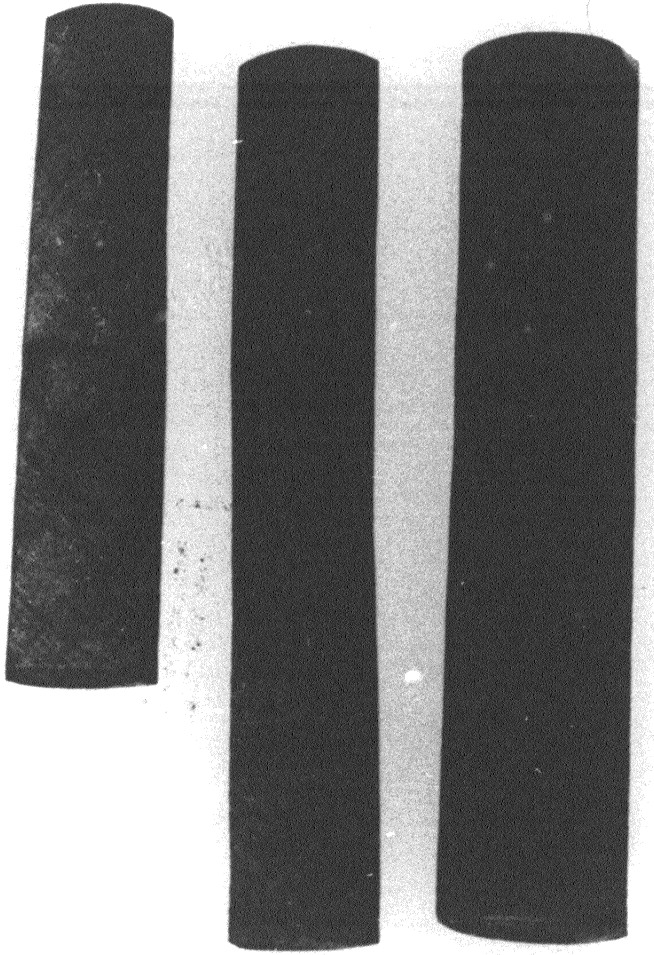


2.

Photos by Martin.

1. SUBANUN WOMAN WEAVING. PEYÓ RIVER, A TRIBUTARY OF THE SINDANGAN.
Loom was set up outdoors in order to get a clear photograph.

2. SUBANUN COTTON BLANKET. SINDANGAN RIVER.



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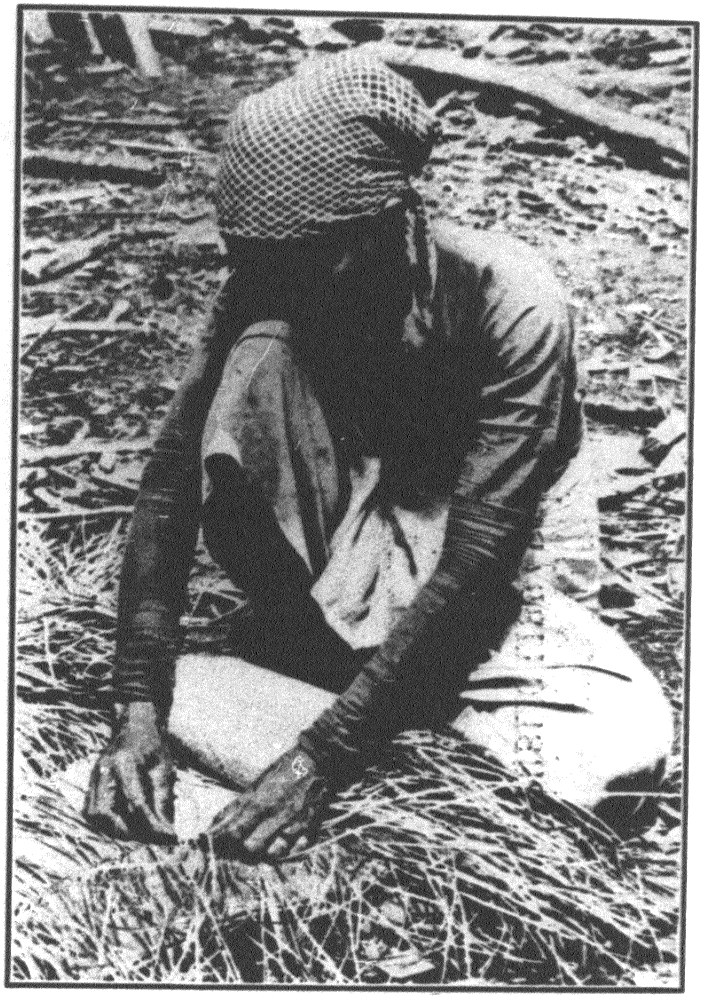


2.

Photos by Martin.

1. SUBANUN MATS. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT THE MATERIALS ARE RATTAN, BURI PALM AND SCREW-PINE, RESPECTIVELY. SINDANGAN BAY.

2. SUBANUN WOMAN WEAVING A MAT OF SCREW-PINE LEAVES. SINDANGAN RIVER.

Photo by Martin.

TYPICAL SUBANUN CLEARING (KA-ING-IN). SINDANGAN BAY.

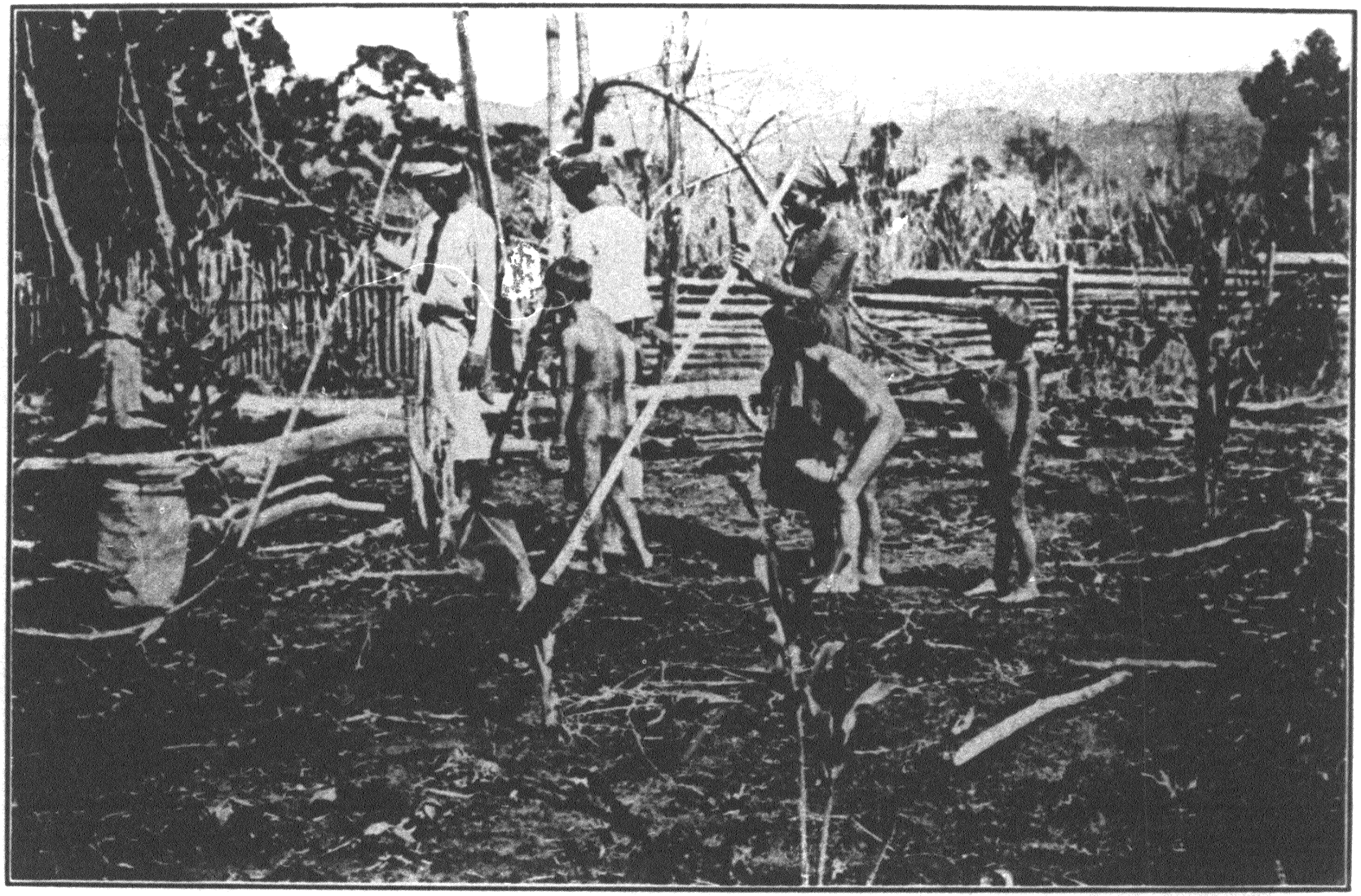
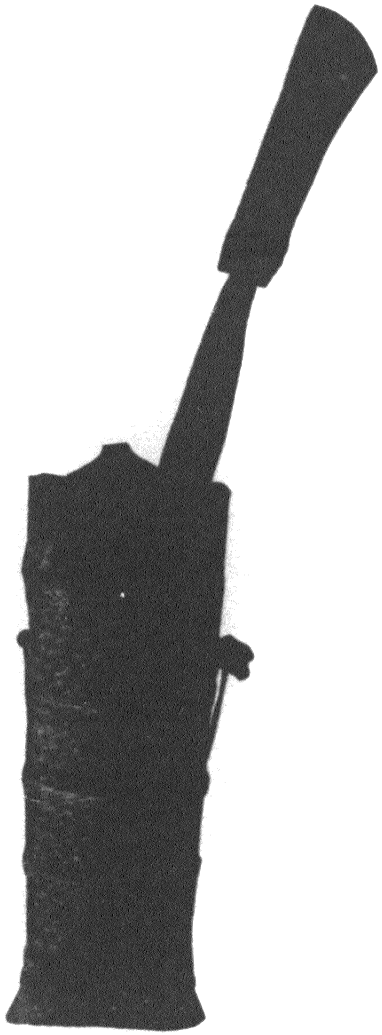


Photo by Martin.

SUBANUNS PLANTING RICE. CHILDREN OR WOMEN DROP THE GRAINS INTO THE HOLES MADE BY THE STICKS. SINDANGAN RIVER.



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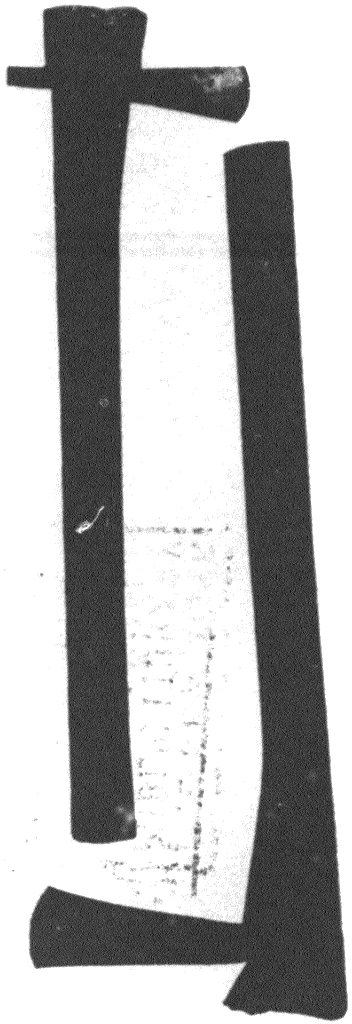


2.

3.

Photos by Martin.

SUBANUN AGRICULTURAL INSTRUMENTS.

1. CHOPPING KNIFE (PES), AND BASKET SHEATH. LATTER SERVES FOR CARRYING TOBACCO AND BETEL-NUT (ABOUT ONE-EIGHTH ACTUAL SIZE).

2. AX (GWA-SAI). BY TURNING, THE HEAD MAY BE MADE TO SERVE AS AN ADZ (ABOUT ONE-FOURTEENTH ACTUAL SIZE).

3. SMALL KNIVES, USED FOR GENERAL HOUSEHOLD PURPOSES AND FOR REAPING RICE (ABOUT ONE-THIRD ACTUAL SIZE).

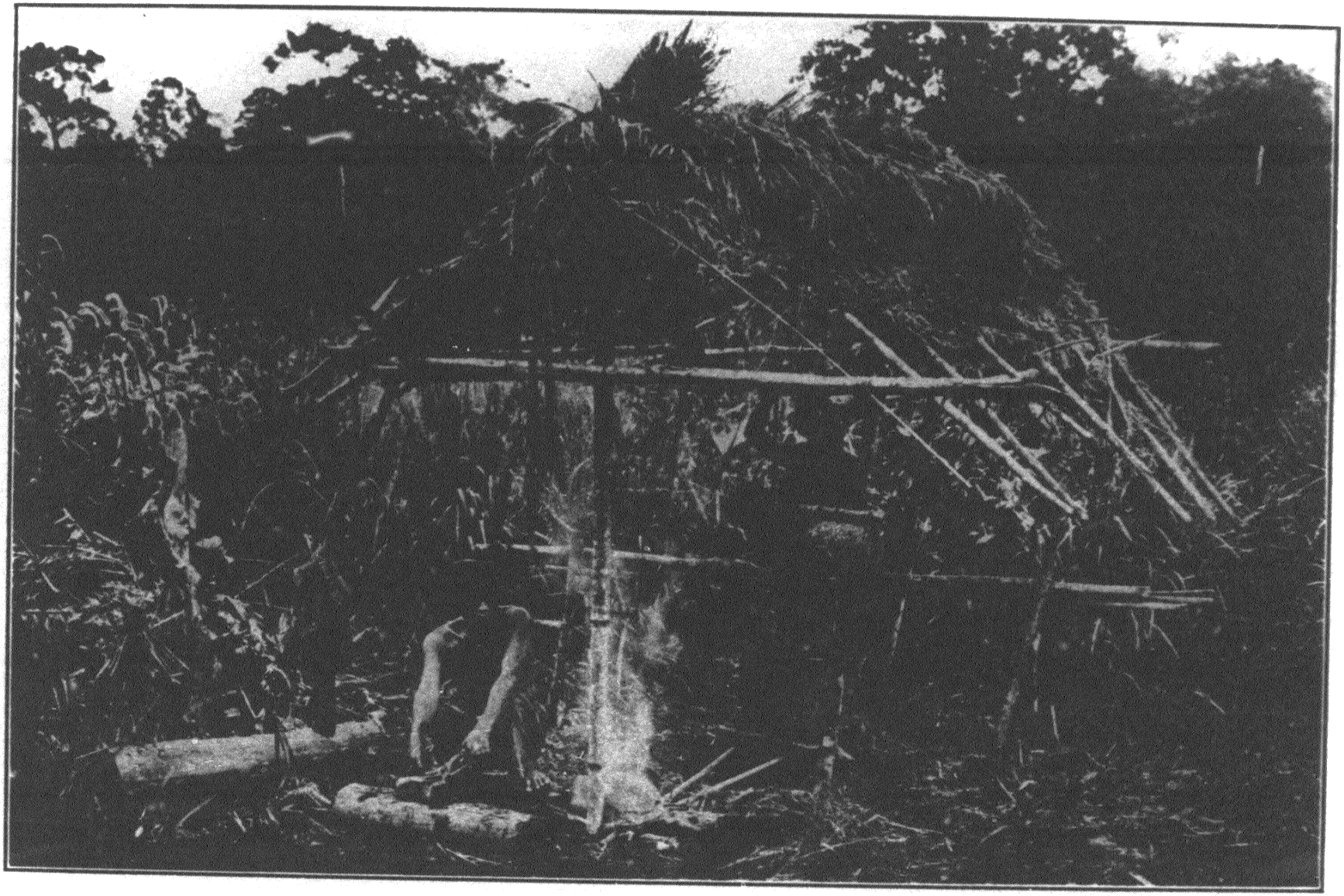
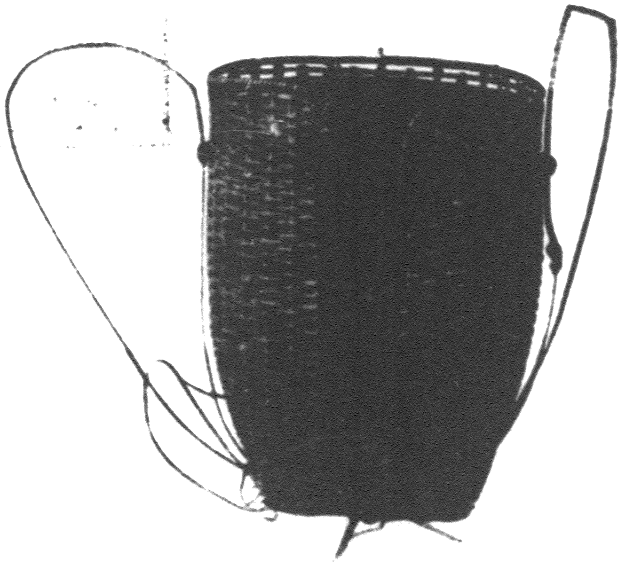


Photo by Martin.

SUBANUN SMITHY. NEAR CONFLUENCE OF THE PEYÓ WITH THE SINDANGAN.

1.

2.



3.

Photos by Martin.

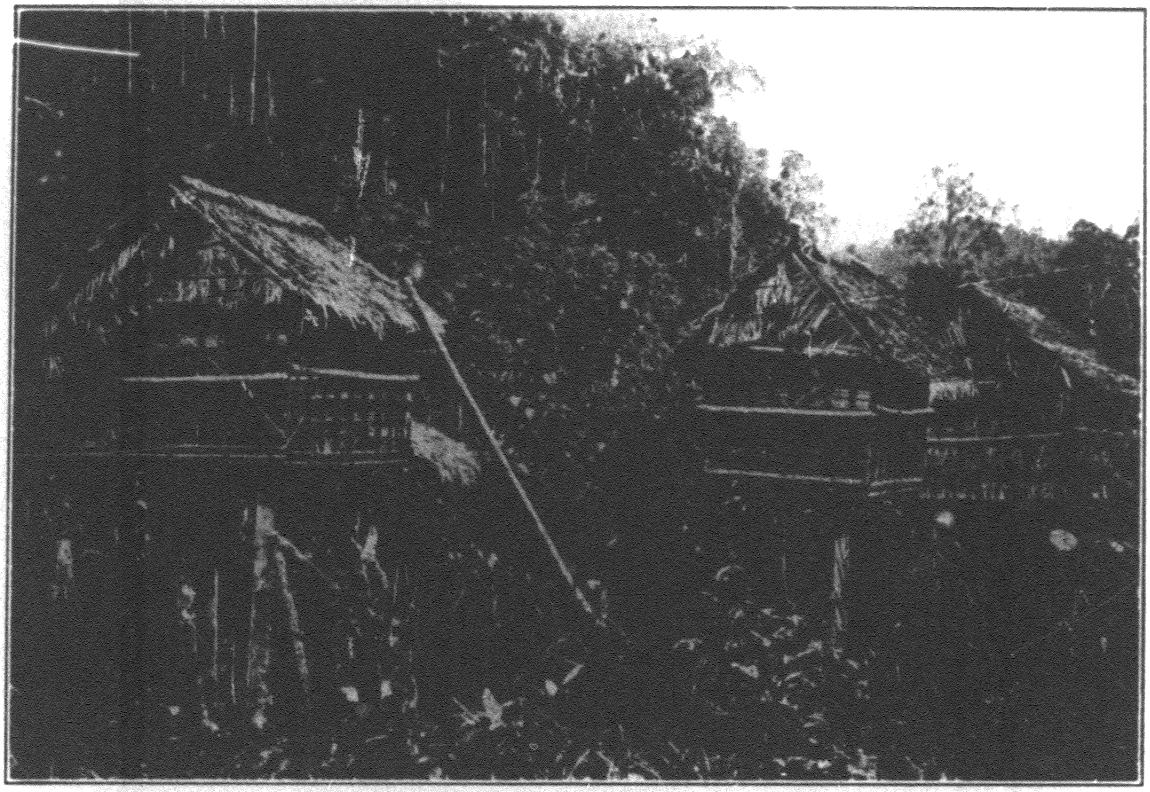
1. BASKETS, BASKET-SHEATH, AND COVERED WOODEN RECEPTACLE.

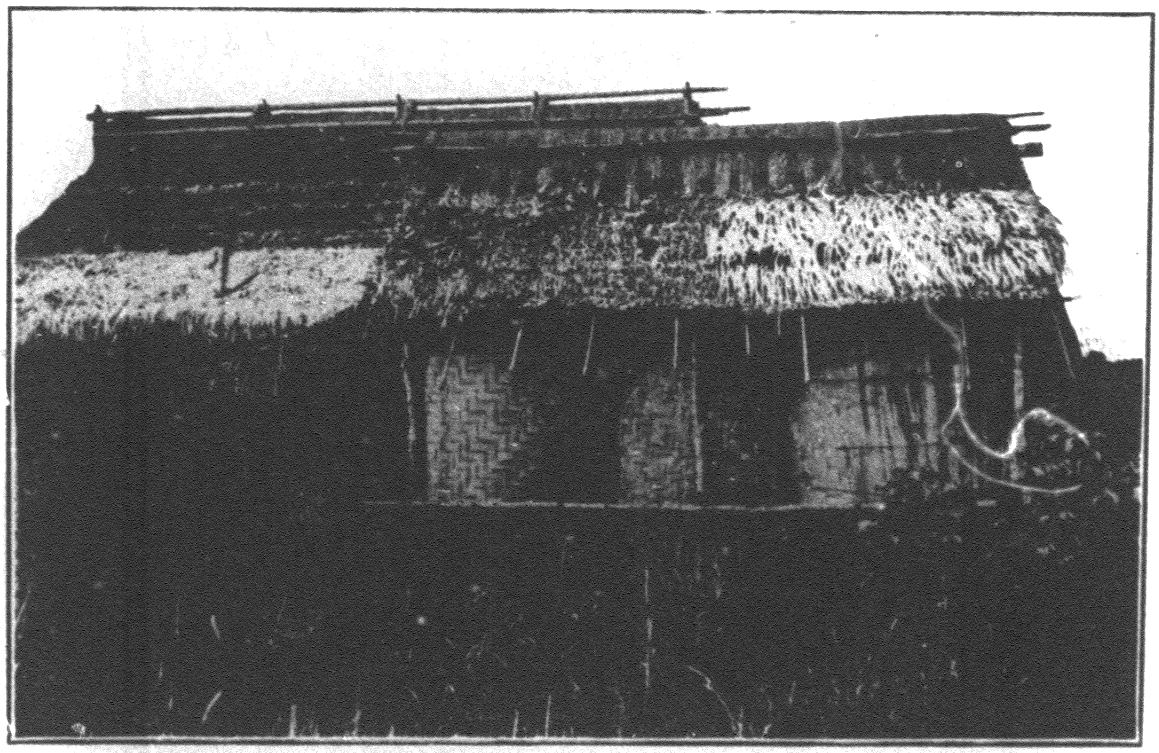
All are in very common use among the Subanuns of Sindangan Bay. The open-meshed basket in the right-hand corner is of a kind hung under houses, to serve as nests for the hens.

2. WOMAN'S WORK BASKET (ABOUT ONE-EIGHTH ACTUAL SIZE). SINDANGAN RIVER.

3. BASKET OF ADJUSTABLE SIZE FOR CARRYING HEAVY LOADS (ABOUT ONE-TWELFTH ACTUAL SIZE). SINDANGAN RIVER.

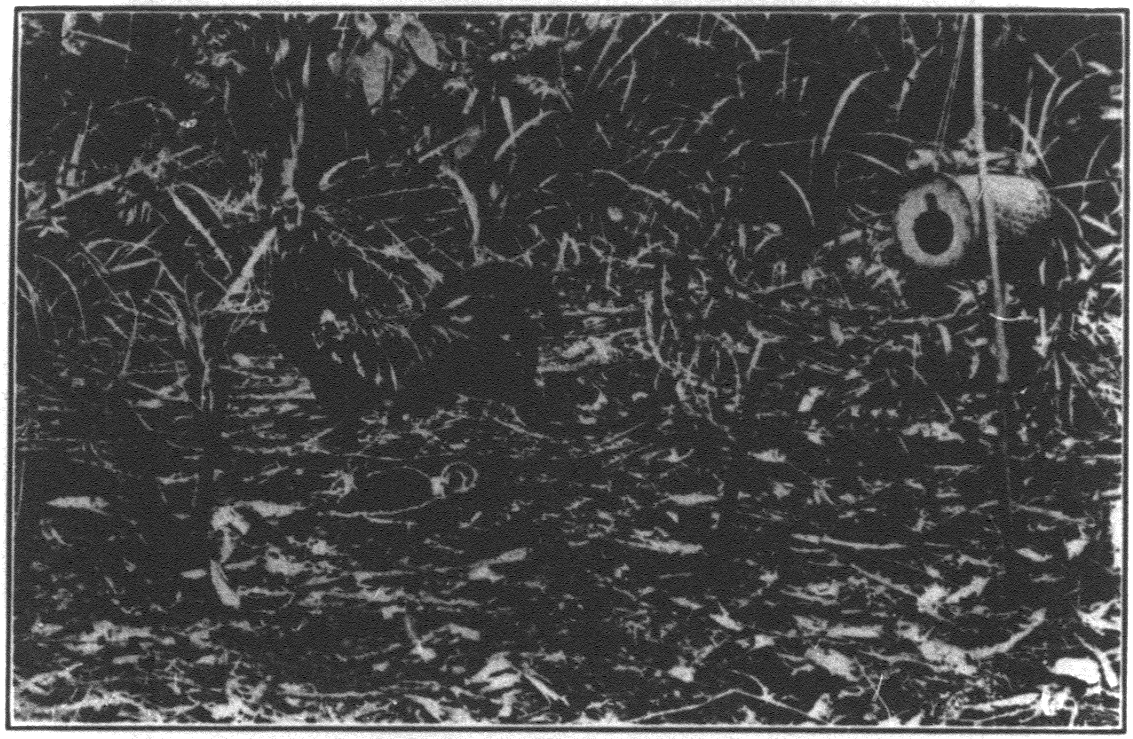
The rattan passes over the shoulders and under the arms of the carrier.



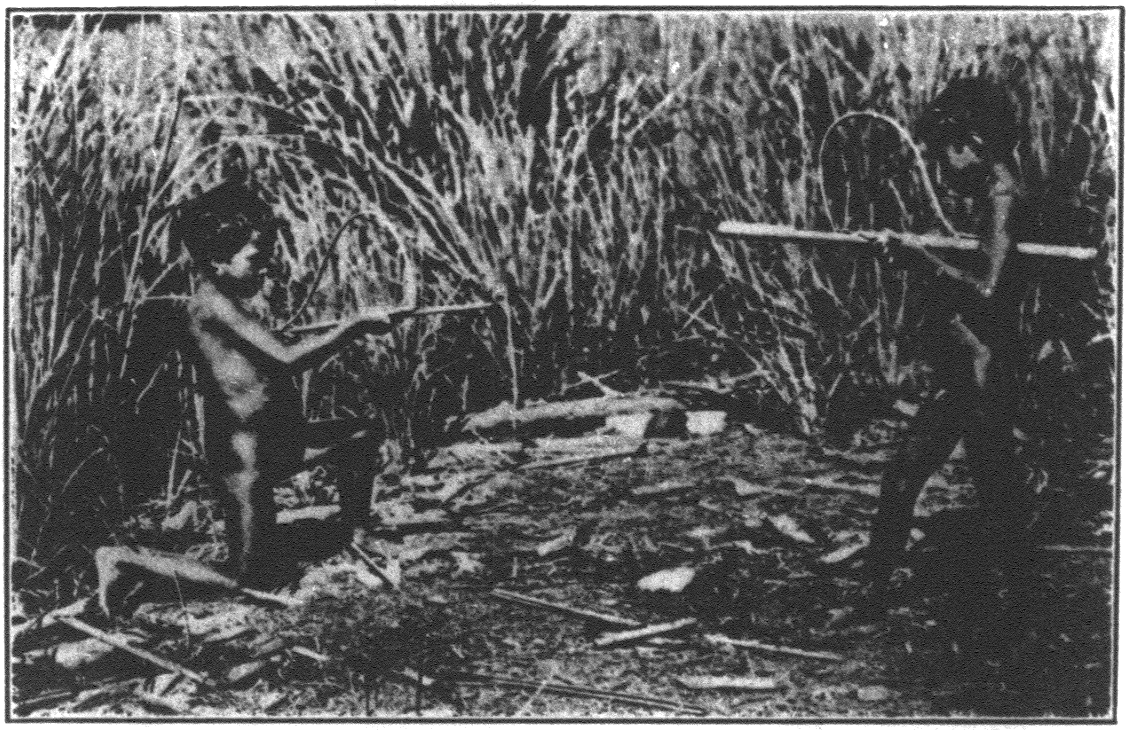


Photos by Martin.

RICE GRANARIES NEAR THE SINDANGAN RIVER.



1.



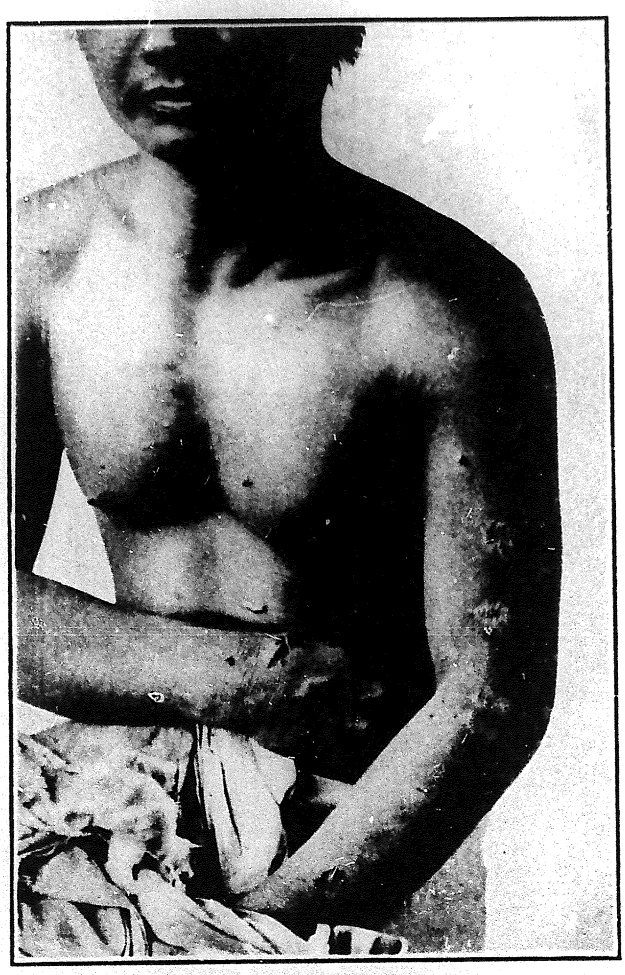
2.

Photos by Martin

1. TRAP SET FOR CATCHING WILD COCKS, AND TAME COCK ACTING AS LURE. SINDANGAN BAY.

Note peculiar basket for carrying tame cock.

2. SUBANUN CHILDREN AT PLAY WITH TOY BOWS AND ARROWS. SINDANGAN RIVER.



1.

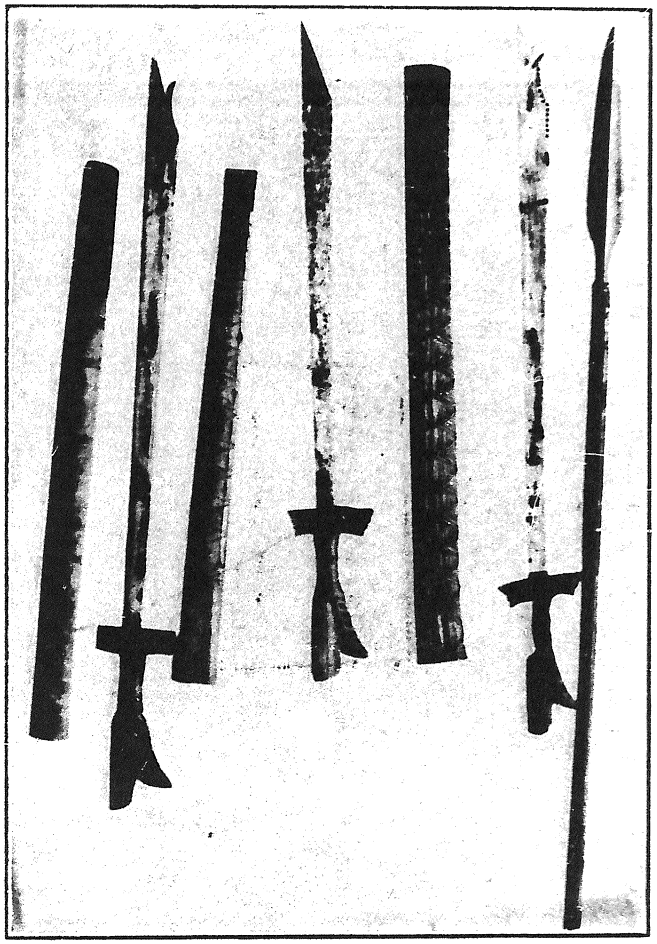
2.

Photo 1 by Martin, 2 by Christie.

1. SUBANUN MAN WITH SCARS INTENTIONALLY PRODUCED BY BURNING. PEYÓ RIVER, A TRIBUTARY OF THE SINDANGAN.

2. SUBANUN CHIEF OF DUMANKILAS BAY.

1.

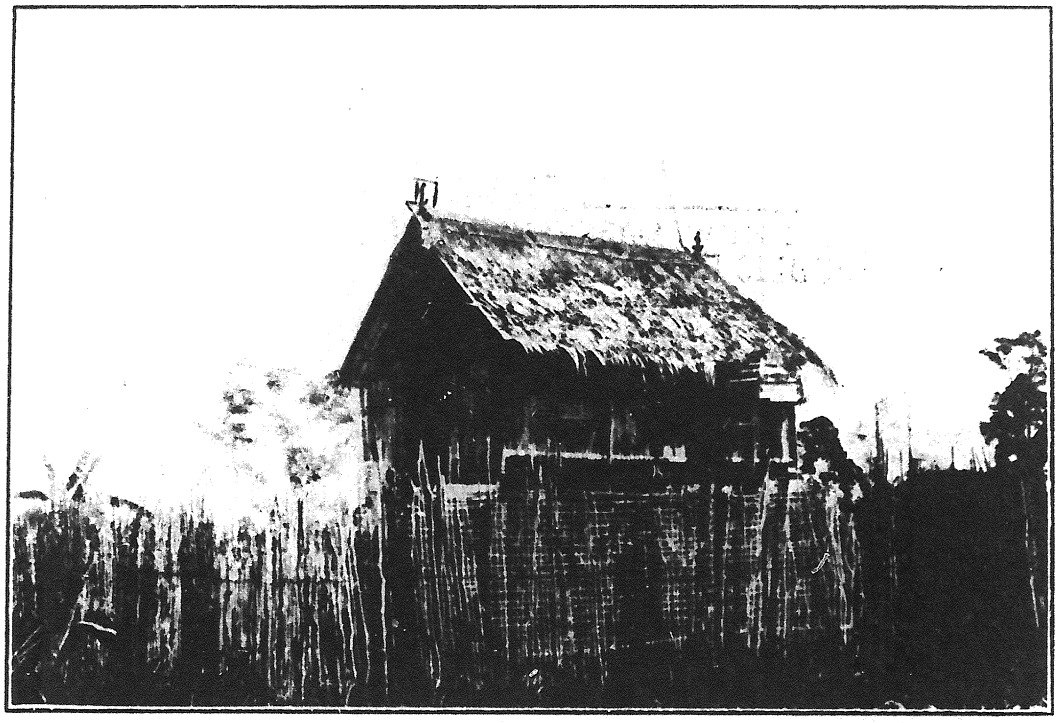


2.

Photos by Martin.

1. FIGHTING KNIFE OF THE KIND CALLED BARONG (b) AND WORKING KNIFE (a). FORMER PROBABLY BOUGHT FROM MOROS, LATTER MADE BY SUBANUNS. SINDANGAN BAY.

2. SPEAR AND KAM-PI-LAN. USED BY SUBANUNS BUT USUALLY BOUGHT FROM MOROS.



1.

2.

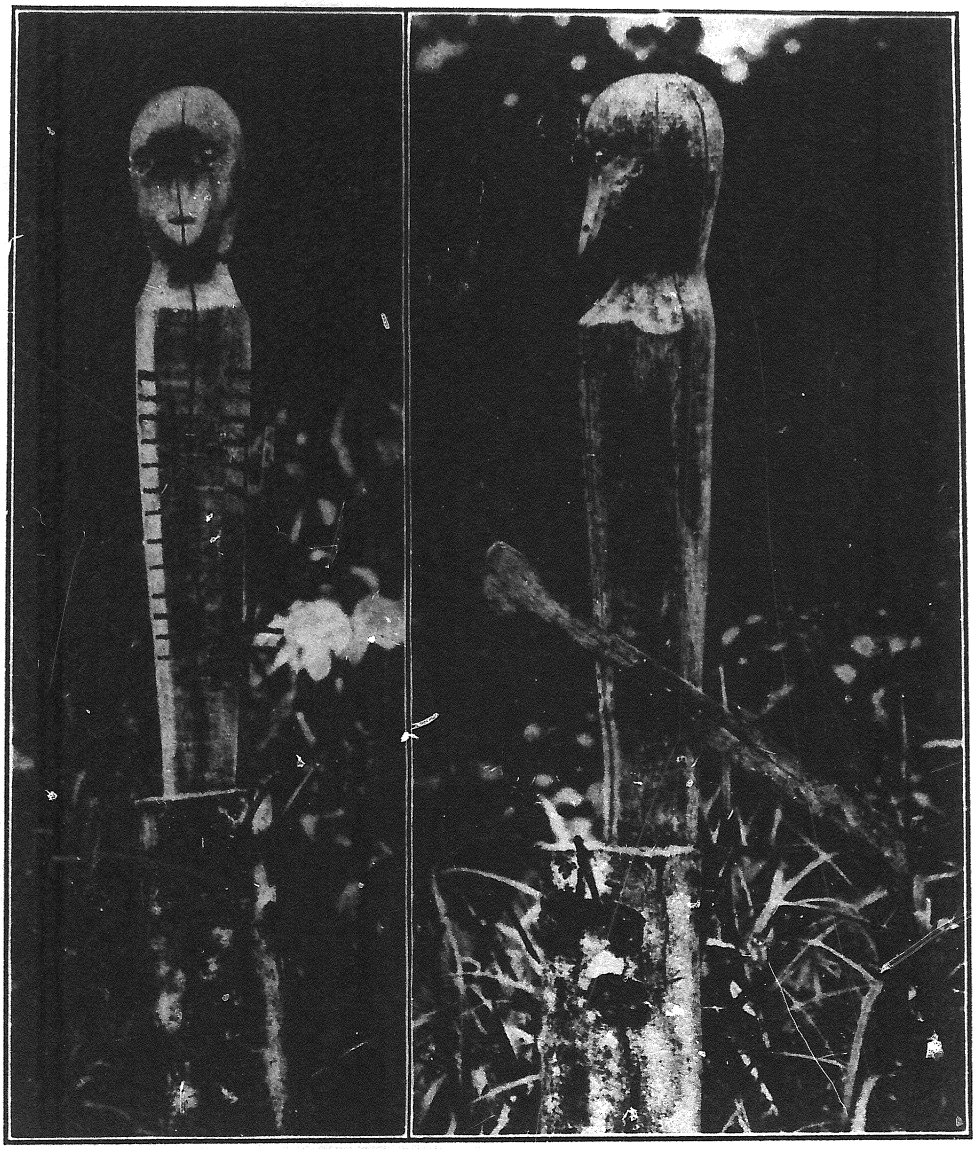
Photos by Christie.

1. A SUBANUN SHAMAN'S SPIRIT-HOUSE.

The miniature house under the eaves is a *maligai*, in which the sacred dishes, etc., are kept. The roof of the spirit-house carries wooden images of the omen-bird *li-ma-kun*. Nueva Reus (Subanun name Patalun), near Zamboanga.

2. SUBANUN ALTARS ON THE SHORE OF SINDANGAN BAY.

Ceremonies had recently been held at these altars to keep away sickness.



1. 2.

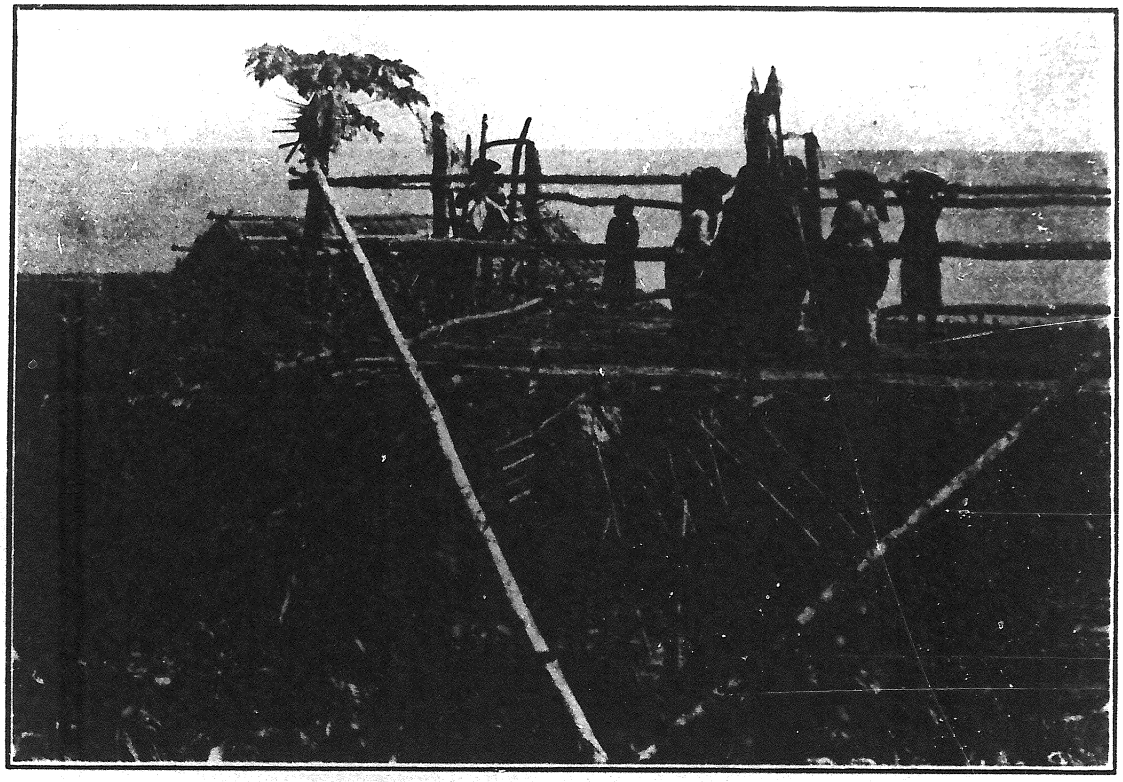
3.

Photos by Martin.

1 AND 2. TYPICAL SUBANUN IMAGE. SINDANGAN BAY.

Note sticks to hold saucer with offerings. This image was said to represent the *diwata* dagat or gods of the sea.

3. BROKEN POT WITH WHITE LINES ON IT. HUNG UNDER HOUSE OF CHIEF MANDÍ TO KEEP AWAY EVIL SPIRITS. SINDANGAN RIVER.



1.

2.

Photo 1 by Christie, 2 by Martin.

1. A BUK-LUG OR CHARACTERISTIC DANCING PLATFORM OF THE SUBANUNS. The hollow log that furnishes the accompaniment is in the ground under the miniature roof.

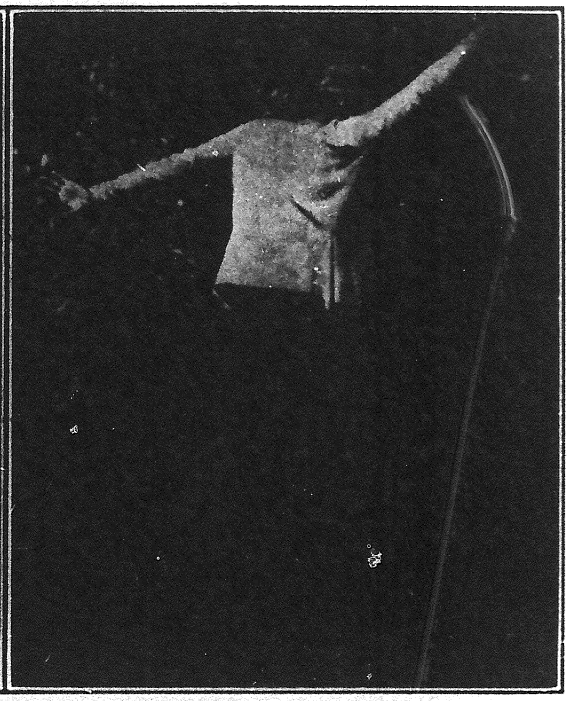
2. SUBANUNS DRINKING RICE BEER. PEYÓ RIVER, A TRIBUTARY OF THE SINDANGAN.

Photos by Martin.

TWO VIEWS OF SUBANUN MAN DANCING, AND BRANDISHING LEAVES OF THE ANAHAU PALM.

These bunches are much used by medicine men in sacred dances. Dance was given outdoors for the sake of the photograph.

1.



2.

3.

4.

Photos by Martin.

1 AND 2. FRONT AND REAR VIEW OF A MAN DANCING. SINDANGAN RIVER.

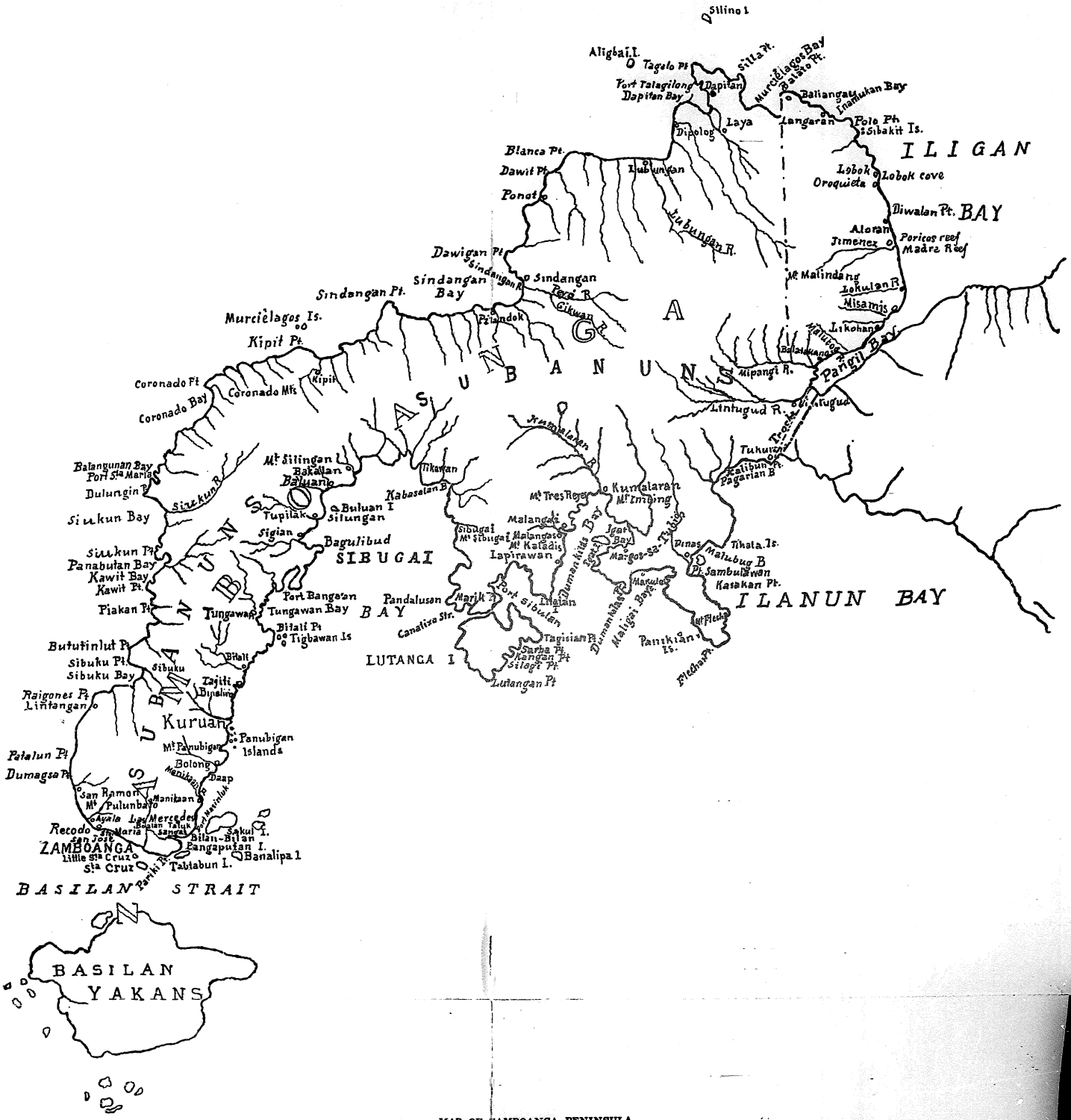
Ordinarily this dance is given indoors. It was given outdoors in this instance in order to secure a clear photograph.

3 AND 4. TWO VIEWS OF SUBANUN MAN AND GIRL DANCING. SINDANGAN RIVER.

This dance was given outdoors in order to secure a good photograph.

Photo by Martin.

AMERICAN AND PARTY STOPPED BY SUBANUN SMALLPOX QUARANTINE. NEAR SHORE OF SINDANGAN BAY.



MAP OF ZAMBOANGA PENINSULA.

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